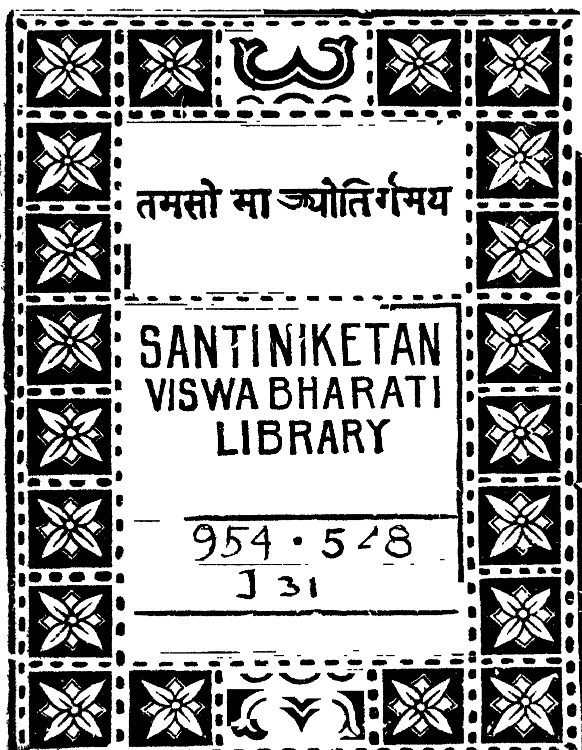


INDIA ON THE MARCH

STATEMENTS AND SELECTED QUOTATIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, *RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECT ONLY*, COVERING THREE DECADES OF HIS POLITICAL CAREER, FROM 1916 TO 1946.

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IMPORTANT SPEECHES OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

LIFE OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU—In Words & Pictures.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU—A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

JAWAHARLAL AND HIS IDEAS

IMPORTANT SPEECHES & WRITINGS OF SUBHAS BOSE

SUBHAS BOSE & HIS IDEAS

Selections from Mahatma Gandhi

EDITED BY JAG PARVESH CHANDER

TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI
(*Foreword by Babu Rajendra Prasad*)

TAGORE AND GANDHI ARGUE

ETHICS OF FASTING

GITA THE MOTHER

THE UNSEEN POWER

THE GOOD LIFE

GANDHI AGAINST FASCISM

THE CONGRESS CASE (*Foreword by Mr. K. M. Munshi*)

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Jawaharlal on the March

The search for the sources of India's strength and for her deterioration and decay is long and intricate. Yet the recent causes of that decay are obvious enough. She fell behind in the march of technique, and Europe, which had long been backward in many matters, took the lead in technical progress....New techniques gave military strength to the countries of Western Europe and it was easy for them to spread out and dominate the East. That is the story not of India only but of almost the whole of Asia.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Preface

THE march of India has been the march of Asia. It is true that the countries of the East fell behind Europe in the "march of technique." And we have paid a very heavy price for that, because our hearths and homes—and hearts !—have been machinegunned by the scientific adventurers from the west. In spite of all that, India and other countries of Asia have progressed continually and continuously.

This is the central theme of the statements and selected quotations from the writings of Jawaharlal, relevant to the subject only, presented in this book. It is not the intention of the editor to give the reader a collection of Jawaharlal's masterpieces embodied in his immortal books—the *Autobiography*, the *Discovery of India* and others—but only such political quotations and statements which set the pace for the march of events in India in the most immediate future. Nor has the word 'writing' been used in strict terminology, because the inclusion of some extracts from his speeches has been found inevitable in order to do justice to Jawaharlal's ideas about the subject of the book.

For sources of information concerning the literature embodied in this book, I have largely drawn upon press reports which I have edited to the best of my ability but these are nevertheless liable to omissions and commissions, and consequently I shall feel grateful for any rectifications sent by the intelligent readers and reviewers.

J. S. B.

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India in a new framework of post-war international politics. Nehru showed his awareness to many new factors in world affairs which alter the old problem of Indian independence. " The end of colonialism and imperialism ", he says, " will not mean splitting the world into a host of additional national states intent on their isolated independence. It will lead to a new grouping together of all nations, a new outlook and co-operation, gradually replacing competition and conflict."

Great Britain and certain Americans have always regarded India's independence as a threat and danger. Nehru here suggests that it contains a promise. In every paragraph Nehru manifests internationalism. He heaps scorn on " one decadent empire which tries to help another still more ramshackle empire " in this process the British speed the dissolution of their empire without, saving the Dutch empire. Indonesia and Indo-China must go free, Nehru insists.

" Moreover, because of India's dependence", Nehru writes, " other countries, notably those of the Middle East, have suffered subjection, so that the routes to India might be protected and insured for imperialist purposes." Thus he relates the freedom of Arab countries to the liberation of India. " A free India", Nehru contends, " will link together the Middle East and China too". India is so situated as to form the centre of a group of Asian nations for defence as well as trade and commerce. Also, he advocates, closer union of India with countries of the Indian Ocean, including Australia and New Zealand. Here he speaks as a mature world leader rather than an irresponsible agitator. He sees his own movement in the context of everybody's interests. Separatissm and divisive strategy cannot succeed in an air of atomic age.

Independence, Nehru acknowledges, is only the first step. It must not be delayed. " The first big step is simple enough", he asserts. Then " other questions can be discussed as between equals". Mr. Attlee, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir S. Cripps, Mr. A. V. Alexander and Lord Wavell should ponder over that sentence. And also this : " It is only when, and after, independence has been granted that the foundation can be laid for friendly and co-operative relations between the opponents of yesterday. Everyone realizes that independence to-day cannot, and must not, mean isolation or absolute independence ".

II

FOUR HORIZONS OF DEMOCRACY

I have summed up the character and quality of Jawaharlal's writings in my another book—" The Life of Jawaharlal Nehru ".

Jawaharlal Nehru, the King of suffering, towers over a universe that itself toils in pain. He has a mental universe that circumvents the four horizons of democracy. The Nehru-universe is one of healthy and robust life. Although the cup of his life overflows with humanity's sorrow, yet it is the cup of good nature, humour, romance, colour, strength, and welfare. Against the background is the figure of Democracy pale with the consciousness of death. She is the ambassador of Death, walking amid Life.

The theme of Democracy is Death. The Life of European Civilization is bound for the disintegration of the grave. It is the love of the Atomic Bomb that does not survive the loved one's life. It is the insistence on Death as the primary fact of Scientific Civilization that is branded on the mind of Jawaharlal. The fire of indignation against capitalistic-imperialistic exploitation is burning red-hot in the mind of Jawaharlal. And it is searing the noble mind with agony.

The spiritual bereavement of Europe is mirrored in the material bereavement of India. It has caused Jawaharlal a mental agony bordering upon madness. Death is over the whole play of politics. Japan died during action, and Germany is buried before our eyes. Britain had arranged the deaths of Spain and Abyssinia. The drama was set in motion by the murder of China, and the play opened with the apparition of the German Ghost. Hitler visited the glimpses of the moon in complete steel. Horridly he shook our dispositions with thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls. The graveyard meditations of Jawaharlal, though exquisitely beautiful, are remorselessly realistic.

"Capitalism," says Nehru, "in its difficulties took to fascism." And it took to fascism with all the brutal suppression of what western civilization had *apparently* stood for. Fascism gripped the European homelands, as imperialism clutched the European colonies. "Fascism and imperialism," mourns Noble Nehru, "stood out as the two faces of the new decaying capitalism." They represented the same forces of reaction. They supported

and proped each other. Also they wrestled and rivalled their demoniac forces to search the heavens for power. Socialism in the west and the rising tide of nationalism in the east opposed this inhuman combination of fascism and imperialism. Nationalism in Asia took quite a different turn from narrow nationalism of Europe. "The former," says Nehru, "was the historical urge to freedom, the latter the last refuge of reaction."

The pain in Nehru's mind is suffused through his political career. His life gives us a profound sense of political blackness and the abysms of spiritual evil. A universal gloom overcasts humanity. Nehru, the heroic victim of imperialistic evil, rises gigantic from the murk of an evil universe. Only a man of Nehru's sensitiveness can realize the daring effects of Nehru's volcanic passion. He has seen the blighting disease of imperialism overwhelming his beloved motherland. It has undermined the health of nationalism, and added victim to victim until the stage of patriotism is filled with corpses. No wonder, a nihilistic birth in the consciousness of desperadœs spreads its deadly venom around. And Nehru regards it his imperative duty to counteract that venom.

"Terrorism," says Nehru, "is always a sign of political immaturity in a people, just as so-called constitutionalism, where there is no democratic constitution, is a sign of political senility."

If we want to attain a true interpretation of Nehru, we must work from a centre of spiritual consciousness. Let us not forget that Jawaharlal has his fountainhead in the Himalayas of the Mahatma Gandhi. We must think less in terms of political causality and more in terms of spiritual impact Nehru does not draw Britain as wholly evil—far from it. John Bull shows every sign of being an excellent diplomat. His speeches to India bear the stamp of democracy. We have long hoped that tact would find an easy settlement, whereas arms might waste the spiritual strength of India.

The writings of Nehru give the impression of Anglo-Saxon efficiency. It is the efficiency of the Man who

can dispose of business without unnecessary circumstance. He leaves himself time for enjoying the good things of life. This is a man—kindly, confident, and fond of pleasure.

What pains Nehru is that his Indo-British culture does not help him to solve the Indo-British problems. The failure of India to get freedom is the failure of British culture to offer it. The subjection of India means the servility of British culture. Being a mixture of east and west, Nehru feels that India's cause is Britain's own cause. And when Britain does not do her duty to herself, there is nothing left for Nehru but a bottomless gulf of despair.

III

GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY FOR BRITAIN

Will the Labour Government see with a clear mind that it is offered a golden and unique opportunity in this moment of grave crisis for England ? If they do not see it yet, Nehru points his finger to the sword over Britain's head. " If, however, freedom is delayed or circumscribed ", he writes, " and colonies and dependencies are used as pawns in the game of power politics of a few great powers, then these dependent or semi-dependent countries will also play their part in power politics to the extent they can side with this or that power as it suits their convenience and advantage." This spells Russia. We have the alternative, Nehru declares, in effect. He does not like the alternative because, if the colonies grasp it, " they will add to the confusion and chaos of a distracted world and would bring the victims together with others to an inevitable disaster.

POWERFUL REACTIONS

Referring to the naval strike in Bombay, Pandit Nehru said : " This strike has a great political importance. Our boys in their zeal might have done few things with which we may disagree, but they cannot minimise its importance or wash away the powerful reactions which this event created in the country. This event demonstrated which direction the mind of the Indian army is working. It has also shown that the iron wall which the Britishers created between the Indian army and the Indian people has collapsed and broken to pieces and the Indian army men who mostly hail from the peasant class are as keen to the political and economic exploitation as their brothers in fields and factories.

Continuing Pandit Nehru revealed that the three Indian officers, Messrs. Shah Nawaz, Sehgal and Dhillon were not released due to Indian demonstrations as is generally believed but they were released because Indian army had demanded their release and

expressed sympathy in unmistakable terms with them.

Pandit Nehru said that 1946 would be most eventful and decisive year for India. " In other words," he said " the 150 year' old British rule in this country has almost come to an end."

" One thing is clear from the historical point of view. The British also realise it and therefore they no longer talk in terms of political reservations for themselves. They want to know from us if we would give them trade facilities in a free India. Well, let us tell them frankly, it all depends on how you quit this country. If you leave a trail of bitterness behind we cannot have any truck with you."

Pandit Nehru characterised the Muslim League as an " organisation of Nawabs and Taluqdars " and said that they raised the Pakistan slogan only to sidetrack the country's main problems of poverty and starvation on the one hand, feudalism and capitalism represented by a handful of persons on the other. Pandit Nehru added that the League, Akali, Unionist, Hindu Sabha and Communist parties were all allies of Britain in the present context of the Indian situation.

Pandit Nehru was presented with gold and silver of his own weight following his refusal to have himself weighed against gold and silver.

IV

INDIA ON THE MARCH

" If you are not going forward, you must be going backward." That is an old and very sane English saying. Nothing can stand still in nature. That is an ample reason why Jawaharlal wants India to be always on the march. Nehru believes in dynamic politics. And it is dynamic politics which is the subject of this book. It covers many topics, as it is clear from the list of contents, but only such subjects as are of immediate importance to India and the world.

Almost every foreign visitor has realised that millions of India are just so many Nehrus, so much have they identified themselves with their leader and they are always ready to march out behind the man whom they not merely follow but worship. Thus H. N. Brailsford describes his experiences :

Throughout my sojourn in India I have been meeting scores of men and women who resembled him in this, if in nothing else. All of them had spent years in prison ; many had been beaten by

the police ; most of them had lost a relative in the struggle. So tense and so costly has it been, that the frivolous and the faint hearted have been weeded out, with the opportunists and the office-bearers. What characterises the fighting vanguard of this movement is a capacity for devotion unsurpassed in the contemporary world. This core of enthusiasts can infect the multitude with its faith. The youth of India asks only for a nod from their hero, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to direct them in what they are to do. It is a miracle that, amid this worship, he has remained the modest man he is.

Let it suffice to say that the quotations from the writings of Jawaharlal chapterized in this book are not merely cultural gems but rather commandments for the soldiers of peace when India is on the march.

INDIA ON THE MARCH

SECTION I

Nehru Leads India

FAILURE with Gandhi is preferable to the gaining of a temporary advantage without him. " ——JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

" As for Jawaharlal Nehru, we know that neither of us can do without the other, for there is a heart union between us which no intellectual differences can break. " ——MAHATMA GANDHI

If Jawaharlal Nehru marches on, India cannot lag behind. He leads the people magnetically. That idea struck me irresistibly when I read the dainty little bulletin entitled *India Today* published by the India League of America in November 1940. Although the bulletin was issued more than five years before, it has not been dimmed by the brilliance of the Quit India Movement of 1942. Ably edited by Anup Singh Ph.D., William D. Allent, Nibahu R. Checker, Mirza Jaffar, K. M. Maitra, S. K. Marathe, Hemendra K. Rakhit, R. S. Sekhon, and Sirdar J. J. Singh, the bulletin forms an excellent introduction to the writings of Jawaharlal, published as it was on the fifty-first birthday of the great Indian Leader in order to aquaint the American public with his life and literature. As the bulletin had practically no circulation in India, some extracts are reproduced here as a prologue to the selected writings of Jawaharlal.

BIRTHDAY PRESENT TO NEHRU

"To-day, November 14, 1940, is Jawaharlal Nehru's fifty-first birthday. And this is his ninth day in jail, where he is serving a four year sentence at hard labour, for defying the British ban on preaching pacifism in India. Gandhi selected him and Vinod Bhave for this test. Bhave received three months for precisely the same offence. But then the authorities have always been partial to Nehru in such matters. He has passed many a birthday in jail before. **In 1930 on this day he was in jail when India staged a strange celebration. His father, the late Motilal Nehru, fixed November 14 as an All-India Day. Passages from his son's offending speech were read in mass meetings everywhere. The day witnessed 5,000 new arrests. That, said some one, was India's birthday present to Nehru.** That it will be this time, we do not know But we offer this special number of our first printed and enlarged bulletin as our humble birthday tribute to Nehru."

THE NEHRUS OF INDIA

The Nehrus are one of the most distinguished Brahmin families in India. From the days of the Moghuls down, they have always occupied exalted official positions. They have been great scholars of Arabic and Persian. During the British regime they have excelled at the Bar. Motilal Nehru was one of the foremost lawyers of his day. Later, under Gandhi's leadership, the Nehrus threw themselves into the cause with all the abandon of martyrs. They sacrificed their all, position, comfort, wealth and health. Motilal ruined his health in ceaseless work and repeated jail terms, and died in 1930. Jawaharlal's mother was once the victim of police Lathi blows. She is gone. Kamala, Jawaharlal's wife, a frail little woman, persisted in following in her husband's footsteps, thus using up her slender strength, and died still in her thirties. India honoured them during their life-time and honours their memories now. Of the survivors, Jawaharlal's sister, Provincial Minister of Local Self-Government of U. P. in the Congress ministry, ranks now foremost among the women of India. Indira, his only daughter, may be in the political arena any day now. And Jawaharlal's own services and sacrifices are legends. Of such stuff are the Nehrus made.

JAWAHARLAL, LEADER OF MILLIONS

Undisputably the most popular figure in India after Gandhi is Jawaharlal Nehru. A product of Harrow and Cambridge, he gave up a life of luxury and a promising legal career at the call of his country. Over seven years he has already spent in Indian jails, often in solitary cells, for his beliefs. He was only forty when first elected president of the Indian National Congress. Twice since then he has held this office, the highest unofficial India can offer. Once again he was asked by Gandhi to take the reins for a fourth time, but he declined. He is the chairman of the War Emergency Board that steers Nationalist India's course in these critical days; chairman of the National Planning Board engaged in directing India's industrial development. He has often presided over the conferences of the Indian Princes' subjects seeking democratic rights. In the nationalist movement Nehru serves as a link between the Right and the Left. He enjoys the confidence of both.

A GREAT PATRIOT, DEMOCRAT AND SOCIALIST

Few in our age have spoken so eloquently for real democracy, both economic and political, as has Nehru. And very few have assailed aggression anywhere, by anyone, as has he. For him, nazism, fascism and imperialism are all three enemies of a free society and of a new World Order. To loyalist Spain in anguish, he personally carried India's fraternal greetings. He flew to Czechoslovakia and witnessed its tragedy. He denounced the policies that led to Munich. Japan came for a severe indict-

ment from him for her aggressions in China. He decried the closing of the Burma Road, and hailed its reopening. He visited China as Chiang Kai-Sheik's personal guest and was accorded a reception such as is seldom given to a foreign visitor. He has kept a sympathetic, but critical eye upon the developments in Russia. He admires the Russian campaign against illiteracy, but has never been a blind partisan of everything Soviet. As a patriot Nehru fights for India's freedom, he tells us, for he cannot tolerate an alien domination, but even more so, because for Nehru the non-violent Socialist State is the only way to end the grinding poverty of India's down-trodden millions. And this democrat fights for liberty that a new world may be born.

MAN OF GREAT LEARNING

Nehru is a man of great intellectual attainments. He is the author of several books, but the two that have earned him world-wide reputation are his Autobiography, and Glimpses of World History. The Autobiography was begun in jail, and finished three years ago in his abundant leisure time. It has gone through 18 printings in Europe already, and has been translated into several languages. It is a great human document. Its author reveals himself as a man of wide culture, rare sensitivity, refinement and depth of feeling, but more than that, as a man of extraordinary human qualities. And if India means anything at all, this book, said a wise critic, is indispensable. We note with pleasure that John Day Company is bringing it out in this country in February. "Glimpses of World History" is comprised of letters originally written over a period of years by Nehru from prison to his daughter, Indira, for her education. Professor Edmund G. Burbank of the History Department of Hobart College recently wrote us, "I know of no other history book anywhere with the charm, insight and richness of thought which is more needed for the society in which we seem to be moving." Only those acquainted with these works can have some estimate of Nehru's learning.

NEHRU AND THIS WAR

Steadily for years before this war, the Indian National Congress had been solemnly warning Great Britain that in any future war Congress would resist the draining of India's resources without the free consent of her people. Nehru is generally credited with being the author of this policy. Britain ignored this and declared India belligerent immediately upon her own entry into war. Congress then issued another statement, of which also Nehru was the author. It called upon Britain to declare her war aims, and asserted once more India's right to frame her own constitution. For over a year Congress patiently awaited Britain's answer. And apparently the final answer came in the Viceroy's offer of August 8th. Nehru's reaction to this offer was quick. For him the addition of a few members to the Viceroy's council meant less than nothing from the viewpoint of any power being trans-

CHURCHILL'S MESSAGE TO INDIA

"I should like as Prime Minister to send my warmest greetings and best wishes to you (the Viceroy) and to the people and Princes of India. India has given us generously of her men, her money, her material resources and above all her spiritual sympathy. I know that she is ready to respond with ever greater generosity as the struggle intensifies."

So far, this is all that India has heard from Churchill the Prime Minister. Of course India is helping generously, and India's moral support, too, is with Britain in this struggle. But if the generosity is not to remain unilateral, it is Britain's turn now to exhibit this noble trait.

HAROLD J. LASKI ON INDIA

Professor Harold J. Laski, one of England's foremost political thinkers, in his recent book *Where Do We Go From Here?* has an illuminating section on India. He pleads for the immediate solution of India's problem to insure the final victory of democracy in the world. It is only by "revolution by consent," he argues, that democracy can hope to triumph over the malignant forces pitted against her. Following are a few excerpts from the section on India :—

"India stands before us to day demanding the right to self-government as clearly as every America or Ireland did, demanding freedom from our paramount power as unmistakably as Poland or Czechoslovakia demands freedom from the paramount power of Germany. There is not one popular leader in India, with a serious following behind him, to whom we can appeal for support of the continuance of our paramountcy. Year by year, to maintain it even in the revised form of 1936, we have to resort to special powers, the exercise of undemocratic authority, the wide use of the power to imprison and to flog. The few Indians of position we can produce to applaud our rule are men whom we have elevated for that purpose, who, without that elevation, as both we and India know, would be against us and not for us. The main interest we support in India, apart from our own financial interest, is a mass of feudal princes of whom, with not more than six exceptions, it can, so far as the last half century is concerned, be said with literal accuracy that the character of their governance competes in barbarism and squalor, with that of the outlaws in Europe. . . . . .

"The character of our rule in India, maintained in defiance of Indian demands, has all over the world long stained our reputation for plain dealing ; until the advent of Hitler and Mussolini, it was the classic example of imperialist exploitation. . . . . .

"But so long as every vested interest in India is like the Moslem interest, encouraged, openly or secretly, to believe that it will get better terms from dependence upon us than from a

real attempt at accommodation with other Indian interests, of course agreement between them is not forthcoming. We patronize these dissidents from unity in the same way, though much more subtly, as the Conservative Party has so long patronized the separation of Ulster, and with the same evil consequences. . . . .

"The recognition by us of India's right to freedom is the supreme announcement we can make to the world that we have done, once and for all, with the older imperialism.

"We have in truth, no more right to constitute ourselves judges in our own cause than the Fascist leaders possess ; less even since we deny them that right so soon as its attempted application touches ourselves . . . .

"The sooner we end our paramountcy over India the better for Indians and for ourselves."

Here Mr. Laski speaks not only as a great democrat and a liberal, but as one who has been a close student of Indian affairs for many, many years. During the Indian Round Table Conferences at London, through his connection with the Labour Party and the then Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, he participated in many behind-the-scene manoeuvers and gained intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the Indian problem.

The Hindu-Moslem problem—that perennial bogie always conjured up to deny India her freedom : Of course India has some domestic problems, who has not ? But the Indian National Congress makes the claim in dead earnest that she represents the dominant will of India, and she vindicated that claim at the polls in open election under a British-made constitution by winning 8 out of 11 provinces in British India. The Moslem League, which is not in line with Congress, speaks for but a fraction of the one-third (not one half of India's Muslim population.) The Muslim League in open election secured only 106 out of a total of 1,485 Muslim seats. Its policies and claims are challenged by all the other Muslim organizations. The North-Western Frontier Province, over 90% Muslim, follows the Congress lead. The President of Congress is a Muslim, and there have been many Muslim presidents before. Congress has offered to provide all guarantees, human wit can devise, to meet minority rights. Is it really contended that the will of a recalcitrant fraction of a minority should eternally prevail against the will of a vast majority, a majority representing all creeds and classes, and thwart the aspirations of that majority? **Must the democratic principle turn a somersault in India ? For centuries before Britain appeared on the Indian scene, these communities lived peacefully side by side. No friction ever assumed the proportion of the civil war now**

apprehended. Have things really come to this pass now under the British regime? And is it for this record that Britain's regime should be perpetuated? The truth is that the patronage of this third party is the greatest encouragement to the discordant elements. But seriously, are we to believe that Britain has no other aim in India than to perform the thankless task of keeping Hindus and Muslims from each other's throat and that she would cheerfully withdraw from India once the minority problem is solved? Hitler's pretended solicitude for the German minorities elsewhere had at least this merit that they were German minorities. The British, ironically enough, seem to be perturbed over a Muslim minority. We suggest that Britain's cause would not suffer in the eyes of the world if she were to state her case more candidly.

The old approach to India's problem is dead. In these perilous days it should be viewed from a large perspective. In this war of ideas where does India come in? What is to be the place of one-fifth of the human race in the new world order? Nehru and Gandhi have posed a disturbing but pertinent question. How can their people conscientiously shed their blood for democracy in Europe, when it is denied them at home? In the midst of current talk about unions of this and that free country to combat fascism, what about India? There is an uneasy feeling in America that to show any concern for India now might jeopardize Britain's cause here. That, we suggest, is a narrow and mistaken view. A solution of India's problem would vastly strengthen Britain. It would be the best "aid to Britain" And when the affairs of Britain and America "are to be somewhat mixed up," it will serve no purpose here to treat the Indian problem either as a taboo, or from a partisan spirit. And unless India is to be completely counted out of the democratic bloc, and allowed to shift for herself, it should be the duty of everyone concerned with the larger problems of the world to-day, to study the Indian problem with a fresh and open mind.

Nehru will survive his jail ordeal, cheerfully and without malice, as usual. It is a pity that hard labour will leave him no time now to give to the world more of his great writings from prison. And he will have still less time to amuse himself with squirrels and prison animals. He will doubtless emerge greater than ever.

Will Britain?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Books by Nehru:—Letters from a Father to his daughter; Glimpses of World History; Recent Essays and Writings; Eighteen Months in India; Autobiography; The Question of Language; Whither India? Where are We? Tragedy of Spain.

SECTION II

Living Signposts

The great men who have made history are the living signposts by which every progressive individual or a nation has to pass by. Jawaharlal has studied almost all these signposts, and mapped them for the wayfarers in the zigzag roads of Indian nationalism. His slightest remark on a person contains an ocean of meaning. For example, he said about the present Viceroy of India, "Lord Wavell represents policy of the British Government and there is no question of his sincerity or insincerity. If the Simla Conference had succeeded, it would have enhanced his prestige. His breaking up of the Conference was according to the policy of the British Government." It would be very difficult to set forth all that Jawaharlal has stated about great men. I have reproduced here only a few random instances.

SUBHAS BOSE

He was not only brave but had deep love for freedom. He believed that, right or wrong, whatever he did, it was for the independence of India. The news of his death has again revived my associations of 1919-20 with him, when we worked together and I realised his value. I personally did not agree with him in many respects. He left us and formed a separate Forward Bloc, but nobody can doubt his sincerity that he struggled for the whole of his life for the independence of India in his own way.

(The news of Subhas Bose's death is now regarded as incorrect.)

LEONARDO

Most amazing of all were Leonardo's attempts at aviation or flying in the air. He did not succeed, but he went a good way towards success. There was no one to follow up his theories and experiments. **Perhaps if there had been a couple of Leonardos to follow him, the modern aeroplane might have**

been invented 200 or 300 years ago. This strange and wonderful man lived from 1452 to 1519. His life, it is said, "was a dialogue with Nature." He was always asking questions, and trying to find answers to them by experiment; he seemed to be ever reaching forward, trying to grasp the future.

MACHIAVELLI

One other name I shall mention, not because of its greatness, but because it is well known. This is Machiavelli, another Florentine. He was just an ordinary politican in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, but he wrote a book, called "The Prince", which became famous. This book gives us a glimpse into the minds of the princes and politicians of the day. Machiavelli tells us that religion is necessary for a government—not, mind, you, to make people virtuous, but to help to govern them and keep them down. It may even be the duty of the ruler to support a religion which he believes to be false! "**A prince,**" says **Machiavelli,** "**must know how to play at once man and beast lion and fox. He neither should nor can keep his word when to do so will turn against him. . . . . I venture to maintain that it is very disadvantageous always to be honest; useful, on the other hand, is to appear pious and faithful, humane and devout. Nothing is more useful than the appearance of virtue.**"

Pretty bad, is it not? The greater the scoundrel, the better the prince! If this was the state of an average prince's mind in those days in Europe, it is not surprising that there was continuous trouble there. But why go so far back? Even to-day the imperialist Powers behave much like the prince of Machiavelli. Beneath the appearance of virtue, there is greed and cruelty and unscrupulousness; beneath the kid glove of civilization there is the red claw of the beast.

LUTHER

Luther was the great Protestant, and he opposed the authority of Rome. But do not imagine that he was tolerant in religion. **He was as intolerant as the Pope he was fighting. So the Reformation did not bring religious liberty to Europe. It bred a new type of fanatic—the puritan and the Calvinist.** Calvin was one of the later leaders of the Protestant movement. He was a good organizer, and for a while he controlled the city of Geneva. Do you remember the great monument to the Reformation in the park at Geneva? The huge expanse of wall with statues of Calvin and others? Calvin was so intolerant that he burnt many persons because they simply did not agree with him and were free-thinkers.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE

Addressing the General Assembly of the Netherlands, William of Orange said: **"Tis only by the Netherlands that the**

Netherlands are crushed. Whence has the Duke of Alvs the power of which he boasts, but from yourselves—from Netherland cities. "Whence his ships, supplies, money, weapons, soldiers? From the Netherland people."

CROMWELL

Kings die like other people. Indeed, many of them in history have died violent deaths. Autocracy and kingship breed assassination and murder, and English royalties had had enough of assassination in the past. But that an elected assembly should presume to constitute itself into a court, and try the King, and condemn him to death, and then have him beheaded, was a novel and an amazing thing. **It was curious that the English people who have always been very conservative and averse to rapid changes, should thus set an example of how a tyrant and traitorous king should be treated.** But the deed was done, not so much by the English people as a whole as by the new "Ironsides" under Cromwell.

All the kings and Caesars and princes and petty royalties of Europe were greatly shocked. What would happen to them if the common people became so presumptuous and followed the example of England? Many of them would have attacked England and crushed her, but the destinies of England were not in charge of an incompetent king then. England was for the first time a republic, and Cromwell and his army were there to defend her. Cromwell was practically a dictator. He was called the "Lord Protector". Under his stern and efficient rule England's strength grew and her fleets drove away the Dutch and French and Spanish fleets. For the first time England became the chief naval Power in Europe.

BABAR

Babar was only a boy of eleven when his father died and he became ruler of Samarqand. It was not a soft job. There were enemies all around him. So, at an age when little boys and girls are at school, he had to take to the field with his sword. **He lost his throne and won it back, and had many a great adventure in his stormy career. And yet he managed to cultivate literature and poetry and art.** Ambition drove him on. Having conquered Kabul, he crossed the Indus to India. He had a very small army, but he had the new artillery which was then being used in Europe and western Asia. The huge Afghan host that went to fight him went to pieces before this little well-trained army and its artillery, and victory came to Babar. But his troubles were not over, and his fate hung in the balance many a time. Once when grave danger threatened him, his generals advised him to retreat to the north. But he was made of sterner stuff and said that he preferred facing death to retreating. He loved the wine-cup. He decided, however, at this crisis in his life, to give up drinking, and he broke all his drinking-cups. He happened to win, and he **kept his pledge about wine.**

AKBAR

Akbar was the very essence of authoritarianism. And yet it is interesting to speculate what his reaction to politically liberal ideas might have been. If there was to be liberty of conscience, why not greater political freedom for the people? **To science he would certainly have been greatly attracted. Unhappily, these ideas, which were beginning to trouble some people in Europe then, were not current in India at the time.** Nor does there seem to have been any use of the printing press, and education was thus very limited. Indeed, you will be amazed to learn that Akbar was illiterate, that is, he could not read or write. But none-the-less he was highly educated and was very fond of having books read to him. Under his orders many Sanskrit books were translated into Persian.

It is interesting to note that he issued orders forbidding the practice of sati by Hindu widows, and also the practice of making prisoners of war slaves.

JAHANGIR

Akbar was succeeded by Jahangir, his son by a Rajput wife. He carried on to some extent his father's traditions, but he was probably more interested in art and painting, and gardens and flowers, than in government. He had a fine art-gallery. Every year he went to Kashmir, and I think it was he who laid out the famous gardens near Srinagar—the Shalimar and Nishat Baghs. Jahangir's wife, or rather one of his many wives, was the beautiful Nur Jahan, who was the real power behind the throne. It was in Jahangir's reign that the beautiful building containing the tomb of Itmad-ud-Daula was built. Always, when I go to Agra, I try to visit this gem of architecture to feast my eyes on its beauty.

AURANGZEB

The Moghal Empire fell, as almost all empires fall, because of its own inherent weakness. It literally went to pieces. But this process was greatly helped by a new consciousness of revolt among the Hindus, which was brought to a head by Aurangzeb's policy. But this religious Hindu nationalism of a kind had its roots even earlier than Aurangzeb's reign and it may be that it was partly because of this that Aurangzeb became so bitter and intolerant. The Marathas and Sikhs and others were the spear-heads of this Hindu revival, and the Moghal Empire was finally overthrown by them, as we shall see in the next letter. But they were not to profit by this rich inheritance. The British, quietly and cleverly, were to step in and take possession of the booty while others fought each other for it.

NAPOLEON

What manner of man was Napoleon, then? Was he one of the great ones of the earth, the Man of Destiny, as he was called,

a mighty hero and one who helped in freeing humanity from its many burdens ? Or was he, as H G. Wells and some others say, a mere adventurer and a wrecker, who did great injury to Europe and civilization ? Probably both these views are exaggerated; probably both contain some measure of the truth. **All of us are curious mixtures of the good and the bad, the great and the little. He was such a mixture, but, unlike most of us, extraordinary qualities went to make up this mixture.** Courage he had and self-confidence and imagination and amazing energy and vast ambition. He was a very great general, a master of the art of war, comparable to the great captains of old—Alexander and Chengiz. But he was petty also, and selfish and self-centred, and the dominating impulse of his life was not the pursuit of an ideal, but the quest of personal power **"My mistress !" he once said, "Power is my mistress ! The conquest of that mistress has cost me so much that I will allow no one to rob me of her, or to share her with me !"** Child of the Revolution he was, and yet he dreamt of vast empire, and the conquests of Alexander filled his mind. Even Europe seemed small. The East lured him, and especially Egypt and India. "Only in the East," he said, early in his career when he was twenty-seven, "have there been great empires and mighty changes; in the East, where, six hundred million people dwell. Europe is a mole-hill!"

Yet another method by England against Napoleon was propaganda. This was a novel kind of campaign then, but it has since become common enough. A Press campaign against France, and especially Napoleon, was started. All manner of articles pamphlets, news-sheets, cartoons making fun of the new Emperor, and spurious memories, full of falsehoods, were issued from London and smuggled into France. Nowadays a Press campaign of falsehood has become a regular part of modern war. During the Great War of 1914-1918 the most extraordinary lies were told unblushingly by governments of all the countries involved, and in this art of manufacturing and circulating falsehood the British Government seems to have been easily first. It had a long century-old training since the days of Napoleon. We in India know well enough how truth about our country is suppressed and the most amazing falsehood circulated here and in England.

Wherever Napoleon went, he carried something of the French Revolution with him, and the peoples of the countries he conquered were not wholly averse to his coming. They were weary of their own effete and half-feudal rulers, who sat heavily upon them. This helped Napoleon greatly, and feudalism fell before him as he marched. In Germany especially was feudalism swept away. In Spain he put an end to the Inquisition. But the very spirit of nationalism that he unconsciously evoked turned against him and ultimately defeated him. He could overpower the old kings and emperors, but not a whole people roused against him. The Spanish people thus rose against him and for years

sapped his energy and resources. The German people also organized themselves under a great-patriot, Baron von Stein, who became the implacable enemy of Napoleon. There was a German war of liberation. Thus nationalism, which Napoleon himself had aroused, allied to sea-power, brought about his fall. But in any event it would have been difficult for the whole of Europe to tolerate a dictator. Or perhaps Napoleon himself was correct when he said afterwards: "No one but myself can be blamed for my fall. I have been my own greatest enemy, the cause of my disastrous fate."

BISMARCK

At this stage, about the middle of the century, there rose a man in Prussia who was to dominate for many years not only Germany, but European politics. This man was Otto von Bismarck, a junker—that is, a landowner in Prussia. Born in the year of Waterloo, he served for many years as a diplomatic envoy in various Courts. In 1862 he become Prime Minister of Prussia and immediately he began to make his influence felt. Within a week of his becoming Prime Minister he said in the course of a speech: "The great questions of the time will be decided, not by speeches and resolutions of majorities, but by iron and blood."

Blood and iron! Those words, which became famous, truly represented the policy he pursued with foresight and relentlessness. He hated democracy, and treated parliaments and popular assemblies with scant courtesy. He seemed to bearelic from the past, but his ability and determination were such that he made the present bend to his will. He made modern Germany and moulded European history in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Germany of philosophers and scientists retired into the background and the new Germany of blood and iron, of military efficiency, began to dominate the continent of Europe. A prominent German of his day said "Bismarck makes Germany great and the Germans small." His policy of making Germany a great Power in Europe and in international affairs pleased the Germans, and the glamour of a growing national prestige made them put up with all manner of repression from him.

LENIN

The greatest modern exponent of Marxism has been Lenin. Not only did he expound it and explain it, but he lived up to it. And yet he has warned us not to consider Marxism as a dogma which cannot be varied. Convinced of the truth of its essence, he was not prepared to accept or apply its details everywhere unthinkingly.

MAHATMA GANDHI

While India was politically dormant in the pre-war years, a far country saw a gallant and a unique struggle for India's honour. This was South Africa, where large numbers of Indian labourers and some merchants had emigrated. They were humiliated and ill-treated in a host of ways, for racial arrogance reigned supreme there. It so happened that a young Indian barrister was taken to South Africa to appear in a law-case. He saw the condition of his fellow-countrymen, and he was humiliated and distressed by it. He resolved to do his best to help them. For many years he laboured quietly, giving up his profession and his belongings and devoting himself entirely to the cause he had espoused. This man was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. To-day every child in India knows him and loves him, but then he was little known outside South Africa. Suddenly his name was flashed across to India, and people talked of him and of his brave fight with surprise and admiration and pride. The South African Government had tried to humiliate the Indian residents there still more, and under Gandhi's leadership they had refused to submit. This was strange enough, that a community of poor, down-trodden, ignorant workers and a group of petty merchants, far from their home country, should take up this brave attitude. **What was stranger still was the method they had adopted, for as a political weapon this was a novel one in the world's history. We have heard of it often enough since It was Gandhi's satyagraha, which means holding on to truth. It is sometimes called passive resistance, but that is not a correct translation, for it is active enough. It is not non-resistance merely, though ahmisa or non-violence is an essential part of it.** Gandhi startled India and South Africa with this non-violent warfare, and people in India learnt with a thrill of pride and joy of the thousands of our countrymen and women who went willingly to gaol in South Africa. In our hearts we were ashamed of our subjection and our impotence in our own country, and this instance of a brave challenge on behalf of our own people increased our own self respect. Suddenly India became politically awake on this issue, and money poured into South Africa. The fight was stopped when Gandhiji and the South African Government came to terms. Although at the time it was an undoubted victory for the Indian cause, many Indian disabilities have continued, and the old agreement, it is said, has not been kept by the South African Government. The question of Indians overseas is still with us, and it will remain with us till India is free. How can Indians have honour elsewhere when they have not got it in their own country. And how can we help them much so long as we have not succeeded in helping ourselves to freedom in our own country ?

MUSTAFA KEMAL

The English did not like Mustafa Kemal at all. They suspected him and wanted to arrest him. The Sultan, who was wholly under

the thumb of the English, did no like him either. But he thought it would be a safe policy to send him away far into the interior, and so Kemal Pasha was appointed Inspector-General of the army in Eastern Anatolia. There was practically no Army to inspect, and his job was really supposed to be to help the Allies in getting arms from Turkish soldiers. This was an ideal opportunity for Kemal; he jumped at it and went off immediately. It was as well that he did so, for, within a few hours of his departure, the Sultan had changed his mind. His fears of Kemal suddenly got the better of him, and at midnight he sent word to the English to stop Kemal. But the bird had flown.

Kemal Pasha, the Ghazi, the victorious, had got nearly all he had set out for. But from the first he had shown great wisdom in stating his minimum demands, and to these he stuck even in his hour of victory. He had given up all idea of Turkish dominion over non-Turkish lands like Arabia and Iraq and Palestine and Syria. He wanted Turkey proper, the land inhabited by the Turkish people, to be free. He did not want the Turks to interfere with other people, nor was he prepared to tolerate any foreign interference in Turkey. Turkey thus became a compact and homogeneous country. Some years later, at Greek suggestion, an extraordinary exchange of populations took place. The remaining Greeks in Anatolia were sent over to Greece, and in exchange Turks from Greece were brought over. About a million and a half Greeks were thus exchanged, and most of these families had lived for generations and centuries in Anatolia and Greece respectively. It was an amazing uprooting of peoples, and it completely upset the economic life of Turkey, especially as the Greeks had a great share in commerce. But this made Turkey even more homogeneous, and perhaps it is now one of the most homogeneous of countries in Asia or Europe.

Kemal Pasha immediately raised the cry that the Turkish nation was in danger, as England was behind the Kurds. He got the National Assembly to pass a law providing that the use of religion as a means of exciting popular sentiment, whether in speech or in print, should be deemed high treason, and as such should be subject to the most extreme penalties. **The teaching of religious doctrines which might subvert loyalty to the Republic was also prohibited in mosques** He then crushed the Kurds without pity, and set up special Tribunals of Independence to try them by the thousands. The Kurdish leaders, Sheikh Said and Doctor Fuad and many others, were executed. They died with the plea for the independence of Kurdistan on their lips.

So the Turks, who had only recently been fighting for their own freedom, crushed the Kurds, who sought theirs. It is strange how a defensive nationalism develops into an aggressive one, and a fight for freedom becomes one for dominion over

others. In 1929 there was another revolt of the Kurds, and again it was crushed, for the time being at least. But how can one crush for ever a people who insist on freedom and are prepared to pay the price for it?

The Latin script was thus established in Turkey, but soon another change followed. It was found that Arabic and Persian words could not be easily written in this script; their special sounds and nuances could not be expressed in it. Pure Turkish words were not so fine; they were rougher, more direct and vigorous, and could be written easily in the new script. The decision was therefore taken to drop Arabic and Persian words from the Turkish language and replace them with pure Turkish words. At the back of this decision was, of course, a nationalist reason. Kemal Pasha, as I have told you, wanted to cut Turkey off as far as possible from Arabian and other eastern influences. The old Turkish language, full of Arabic and Persian words and phrases, might have been suitable enough for the ornate and pompous life of the imperial Ottoman Court. It was considered unsuitable for the new, vigorous, republican Turkey. So the fine words were given up, and, learned professors and others went to the villages to learn the language of the peasants and hunt for words of good old Turkish stock. This change is going on now. Such a change for us in northern India would mean our giving up to a large extent our ornate and rather artificial Hindustani of Lucknow and Delhi—a relic of old court life—and adopting instead many of the rustic *ganvaru* words of the village.

HITLER

Who was Adolf Hitler? Surprising as it is, he was not even a German citizen till a year or two before he came to power. He was a Germany-Austrian who had served in the war in a humble capacity. He took part in an abortive rising against the Germent Republic—a "putsch" and though sentenced to imprisonment, was leniently treated by the authorities. He then organized his party called the "National Socialist" to oppose the Social Democrats. The word Nazi comes from this name: Na from National and zi from Sozialist. **Although the party was called socialist, it had absolutely nothing to do with socialism. Hitler was and is a sworn enemy of socialism as it is ordinarily understood.** The party adopted as a symbol the swastika, a Sanskrit word, but the sign has been well known all over the world from ancient times. This sign, as you know, is very popular in India, and is considered a symbol of auspiciousness. The Nazis also organized a fighting force, the "Storm Troops" with a brown shirt for uniform. The Nazis are thus often called the "Brownshirts" just as the Italian Fascists are known as the "Blackshirts."

Hitler's fundemental programme—and it is the programme of German capitalism—is to pose as the champion of Europe against Soviet Russia. If Germany is to have more territory, it can only get it in Eastern Europe or at the expense of the Soviet Union. Before this can be done Germany must be armed, and it is therefore necessary to get the Treaty of Versallies revised to this effect or, at any rate, to have the assurance that nobody will interfere. Hitler counts on Italian support. If he can win over England's support also, it will be easy, so he probably hopes, to neutralize France's opposition in any discussions under the Four-Power Pact. (War has proved Jawaharlal's views about Germany to be correct).

SECTION III

All Roads Lead to Prison

That is the natural home for soldiers of non-violence. We have been told by Dr. Anup Singh in the first chapter that 5,000 Congress workers were arrested on the birthday of Jawaharlal in 1930, and their crime was that they had read passages from his offending speech! That was India's birthday present to Nehru. He has been to jail several times. And jail days have not been the barren moments of his life. There he has created the masterpieces of literature. His Autobiography was written there. Some of his writings concerning jail are reproduced here.

I

THE HONOUR OF ARREST

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave the following message just before the commencement of his trial in the Naini Central Prison on the 24th October, 1930 :—

Comrades,

The honour of arrest has again been accorded to me. I am about to stand my trial and have no doubt that I shall be convicted for the fifth time. That honour is always welcome. And yet I am sorry it has prevented me from keeping my promise of visiting Bombay and Delhi. To the brave soldiers of freedom of these cities, my apologies and regrets. I had long hoped to journey to the new places of pilgrimage in this ancient land, to Bombay and Peshawar, Gujrat and Delhi and so many others and to see with my own eyes what manner of men and women they were who defied the British Raj in all its panoply of power; and to try to understand the magic secret which had transformed our people, in their scores of thousands, into heroes. I cannot journey now. But, rest assured, I shall keep my promise and come to you when your heroic sacrifice has borne fruit and made India a free land, worthy of the heroes and heroines that inhabit her.

I have been arrested principally for my part in inaugurating a no-tax campaign in my province. I trust that the United Provinces will answer the challenge and will carry this campaign

from village to village and town to town and will try to emulate the splendid example of Gujrat. I trust also that other provinces will do likewise. The freedom we seek is the freedom from all exploitation of the peasant and the worker. Let this message of freedom be carried to field and factory, and together let all of us face and overthrow the Imperialism which dominates over us and exploits us.

Be of good cheer, comrades, for the day of our deliverance approaches. And if in the great struggle we lose our property and our belongings, why, then we shall be the lighter and more unencumbered and can march the more swiftly to our goal. In a long and difficult journey often one has to leave one's baggage behind.

Keep smiling ! Let the enemy lose his temper and his composure. He has reason to, for defeat approaches him. But we know that we are in the right and we are going to win. Why should we not smile even though the fight rages fiercely and clouds occasionally darken the horizon ? Behind the clouds lies the sun of freedom and presently it will break through the mists and vapours and rejuvenate us with its life-giving energy.

II

THE FIFTH ARREST

Statement made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at his trial at the Naini Central Jail on 24th October, 1930.

For the fifth time I have been arrested and charged with various crimes by the officials of the British Government. For the fifth time, I have no doubt I shall be convicted. I have so far taken no part in this trial and I desire to take none. But I wish to say a few words so that those who are trying me to day and my own people, who have honoured me beyond measure, may have some glimpse of what I have in my heart.

I am charged with sedition and with the spreading of disaffection against the British Government. Eight and a half years ago I was charged with a similar offence and I stated then that sedition against the present Government in India had become the creed of the Indian people, and to preach and practise disaffection against the evil which it represents had become their chief occupation, for the Indian people had come to realize that there could be no freedom for them, no lessening of the terrible exploitation which has crushed the life out of millions, till British rule was removed from India. Since this realisation came upon me in all its tragic intensity, I have had no other profession, no other business, no other aim then to fight British Imperialism and to drive it from India.

On the first day of this year the National Congress finally resolved to achieve the independence of India, and on the 26th of January the Indian people pledged themselves in their millions to put an end to British rule in India. They declared the age-long right of a people to subvert any government which had misgoverned and crushed them, and they charged the British Government with having exploited them ruthlessly and done them almost irreparable injury politically, economically, culturally, and spiritually. Since that pledge was taken, there can be no willing submission of any Indian to British authority, no recognition by him of British rule and if a few of us side with the enemy or parley with him while the fight is in progress, it is a terrible measure of the spiritual injury caused by British rule making them kiss the rod that smites them and hug the very chains that bind. Some of these misguided and erring countrymen of ours have chosen to desert the motherland in her hour of need and talk of compromises with British imperialism, but the country has chosen another path under the guidance and inspiration of our great leader, and that path it will pursue till success comes to it. There can be no compromise between freedom and slavery, and between truth and falsehood. We realise that the price of freedom is blood and suffering—the blood of our own countrymen and the suffering of the noblest in the land—and that price we shall pay in full measure.

Already the world is witness to the sacrifice and suffering of our people at the altar of freedom, to the wonderful courage of our women and to the indomitable spirit of our brave peasantry. Strong in the faith with which our leader has inspired them, with confidence in themselves and in their great cause, they have willingly set aside their material pleasures and belongings, and written a stirring and a shining chapter in India's long history. And the world has also seen how our peaceful struggle is sought to be crushed by frightfulness and methods of barbarism which have earned for the British Government in India a comparison with the Huns of old. Unlike the Huns, however, they have added insult to deep injury and have sought, after the manner of their kind, to cover their deeds of frightfulness with a cloak of piety and sanctimoniousness. Fearful of exposure, they have sought to suppress truth in every way. Those whom the gods misled to destory they first drive mad, and all the mad deeds which the British Government has done in India during the last seven months, desperate devices of a tottering empire are visible emblems of the crash to come.

We have no quarrel with English people much less with the English worker, like us he has himself been the victim of imperialism and it is against this imperialism **that we fight. With it there can be no compromise. To this imperialism or to England, we own no allegiance, and the flag of England in India is an insult to every Indian. The British Government to-day is an enemy for us, a foreign usurping power**

holding on to India with the help of their army of occupation. My allegiance is to the Indian people and to no king of foreign government. I am a servant of the Indian people and I recognise no other master.

The end of our struggle approaches and the British Empire will soon go the way of all the Empires of the old. The strangling and the degradation of India has gone on long enough. It will be tolerated no longer, and let England and the world take notice that the people of India are prepared to be friends with all who meet them frankly as equals and do not interfere with their freedom. But they will be no friends with such as seek to interfere with their liberties or to exploit the peasant or the worker. Nor will they tolerate in future the humbug and hypocrisy which has been doled out to them in such ample measure by England.

To the Indian people I cannot express my gratitude sufficiently for their confidence and affection. It has been the greatest joy in my life to serve in this glorious struggle and to do my little bit for this cause. I pray that my countrymen and countrywomen will carry on the good fight unceasingly till success crowns their effort and we realise the India of our dreams.

Long Live Free India.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

Central Prison,
Naini,
October 24th, 1930.

III

THE STRUGGLE GOES ON

I have had time enough here in Naini Prison to read or write what I wanted to. But my mind wanders and I think of the great struggle that is going on outside ; of what others are doing and what I would do if I were with them. I am too full of the present and the future to think of the past. And yet I have felt that this was wrong of me. When I cannot take part in the work outside, why should I worry ?

THE DAWN ALWAYS WINS

I have developed strange habits in prison. One of these is the habit of getting up very early—earlier even than the dawn. I began this last summer, for I liked to watch the coming of dawn and the way it gradually puts out the stars. Have you ever seen the moonlight before the dawn and the slow change today ? Often I have watched this contast between the moonlight and the dawn in which the dawn always wins. In the strange half-light it is difficult to say for sometime whether it is the moonlight or the light of the coming day. And then almost suddenly there is no doubt of it and it is day, and the pale moon retires, beaten, from the contest.

ALL ROADS LEAD TO PRISON.

But all roads in India in these days sooner or later lead, to one destination ; all journeys, dream ones or real, end in prison. And so here I am back again behind my old familiar wall, with plenty of time to think of or write to you, though my letters may not reach you. Again the fight is on and our people, men and women, boys and girls, go forth to battle for freedom and to rid this country of the curse of poverty. But freedom is a goddess hard to win ; she demands, as of old, human sacrifice from her votaries.

FROM PRISON TO PRISON

I was told to gather up my belongings and to march out of the prison—not to be discharged, but to be transferred to another prison. So I bade good-bye to my companions of the barrack, where I had lived for just four months, and I had a last look at the great twenty-four-feet wall under whose sheltering care I had sat for so long, and I marched out to see the outside world again for a while. There were two of us being transferred. They would not take us to Bareilly station lest people might see us, for we have become purdahnashins, and may not be seen : Fifty miles out they drove us by car to a little station in the wilderness. I felt thankful for this drive. It was delightful to feel the cool night air and to see the phantom trees and men and animals rush by in the semi-darkness, after many months of seclusion.

HE FELL BY THE WAY

Ten days I was with Dadu before he left us. Ten days and nights we watched his suffering and agony and his brave fight with the Angel of Death. Many a fight had he fought during his life, and many a victory won. He did not know how to surrender, and even face to face with Death, he would not give in. As I watched this last struggle of his, full of anguish. at my inability to help him whom I loved so much, I thought of some lines which I had read long ago in a tale of Edgar Allan Poe : " Man doth not yield himself to the angels, nor even unto death utterly, save by the weakness of his feeble will."

It was on the 6th of February, in the early morning, that he left us. We brought his body, wrapped in the Flag he loved so well, from Lucknow to Anand Bhawan. Within a few hours it was reduced to a handful of ashes and the Ganga carried away this precious burden to the sea.

Millions have sorrowed for him ; but what of us, children of his, flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone ! And what of the new Anand Bhawan, child of his also, even as we are fashioned by him so lovingly and carefully. It is lonely and deserted and its spirit seems to have gone ; and we walk along its verandahs with light steps, lest we disturb, thinking ever of him who made it.

SECTION IV

The Broken Bicycle

The bicycle of religion has carried the Indian Nation on its saddle for many centuries, but now having been damaged by the caterpillar of British imperialism, the Indian Nation must carry it on its shoulders up the strenuous hill to the workshop of Complete Independence where alone it can be made serviceable again. Our spiritual wheels have now become our communal burden. But we must carry the load of our Karma, because we cannot shake it off. In this section we shall examine the views of Nehru on various religions.

I

SHINTO

The old religion of Japan was Shinto. This is a Chinese word meaning " the way of the Gods ". It was a mixture of Nature-worship and ancestor-worship. It did no trouble itself much with the future life of with mysteries and problems. **It was religion of a race of warriors. The Japanese, so near to the Chinese and so much in their debt for their civilization, are yet utterly different from the Chinese.** The Chinese have been and are an essentially peaceful people. The whole of their civilization and philosophy of life is peaceful. The Japanese, on the other hand, have been and still are a fighting people. The chief virtue of a soldier is loyalty to his leader and to his comrade. This has been a virtue of the Japanese, and much of their strength is due to this. Shinto taught this virtue, "Honour the Gods and be loyal to their descendants "·and so Shinto has survived to this day in Japan and exists alongside with Buddhism.

COMPARATIVE RELIGIONS

In India, in that sixth century before Christ, we had the Buddha and Mahavira : in China, Confucius and Lao-Tse ; in Persia, Zarathushtra or Zoroaster ; in the Greek island of Samos, Pythagorge. You may have heard these names before, though perhaps in different connections. **The average school boy or girl thinks of Pythagoras as a busybody who proved a**

theorem in geometry, which he or she, unhappy person, has to learn now: This theorem deals with the squares on the sides of a right-angled triangle and is to be found in Euclid or any other geometry. But, apart from his discoveries in geometry, Pythagoras is supposed to have been a great thinker, We do not know much about him and indeed some people doubt if he ever existed.

BUDDHISM

Buddhism to-day is the religion of the greatest number of people in the world. Other religions which have the largest number of followers are Christianity, Islam and Hinduism. There are, besides, the religions of the Hebrews, of the Sikhs, or the Parsis, and others. Religions and their founders have played a great part in the history of the world, and we cannot ignore them in any survey of history. But I find some difficulty in writing about them. There can be no doubt that the founders of the great religions have been among the greatest and noblest men that the world has produced. But their disciples and the people who have come after them have often been far from great or good. Often in history we see that religion, which was meant to raise us and make us better and nobler, has made people behave like beasts. Instead of bringing enlightenment to them, it has often tried to keep them in the dark; instead of broadening their minds, it has frequently made them narrow-minded and intolerant of others. In the name of religion many great and fine deeds have been performed. In the name of religion also thousands and millions have been killed, and every possible crime has been committed.

JESUS CHRIST

The Jews expected a messiah, and perhaps they had hopes of Jesus. But they were soon disappointed. Jesus talked a strange language of revolt against existing conditions and the social order. In particular, he was against the rich and the hypocrits who made of religion a matter of certain observances and ceremonial. Instead of promising wealth and glory, he asked people to give up even what they had for a vague and mythical Kingdom of Heaven. He talked in stories and parables, but it is clear that he was a born rebel who could not tolerate existing conditions and was out to change them. This was not what the Jews wanted, and so most of them turned against him and handed him over to the Roman authorities.

TOLERATION IN INDIA

It is curious and rather wonderful to compare other countries with India in the matter of treatment of different religions. In most places, and especially in Europe, you will find, in the

past intolerance and persecution of all who do not profess the official faith. There was compulsion almost everywhere. You will read about the terrible Inquisition in Europe, and of the burning of so-called witches. But in India, in olden times, there was almost full tolerance. The slight conflict between Hinduism and Buddhism was nothing compared to the violent conflicts of religious sects in the West. It is well to remember this, for, unhappily, we have had religious and communal troubles recently and some people, ignorant of history, imagine that this has been India's fate right through the ages. This is wholly wrong. Such troubles are largely of recent growth. You will find that after Islam began, for many hundred years Musolmans lived in all parts of India in perfect peace with their neighbours. They were welcomed when they came as traders and encouraged to settle down. But I am anticipating ?

So India welcomed the Zoroastrians, just as a few hundred years before, she had also welcomed many Jews who fled from Rome in the first century after Christ on account of persecution.

Hiuen gives us a description of the great Kumbh Mela at Prayag. When you see this mela again, think of Hiuen Tsang's visit to it 1,300 years ago, and remember that even then it was an old mela coming right down from the Vedic times. Compared to this ancient one, of hoary lineage, our city of Allahabad is but of yesterday. It was founded by Akbar less than 400 years ago. Far older was Prayag, but older still is that attraction which, for thousands of years, has drawn millions, year after year, to the meeting-place of the Ganga and the Jumna.

ATHEISM IN INDIA

It may interest you to know that among Hindu philosophers there was a man, named Charvaka, who preached atheism—that is, who said that there was no God. There are many people to-day, especially in Russia, who do not believe in God. We need not enter into that question here. But what is very interesting is the freedom of thought and writing in India in the olden days. There was what is known as freedom of conscience. This was not so in Europe till very recent times, and even now there are some disabilities.

THE LUTE

I am reminded of a story of Buddha, for which again I go to our old friend Hiuen Tsang. A young disciple of his was doing penance. Buddha asked him : " You, dear youth, when living as layman, did you know how to play the lute ?" He said; I knew." " Well, then, " said Buddha, " I will draw a comparison derived from this. The cords being top-tight, then the sounds were not in cadence ; when they were too loose, then the sound had neither harmony nor charm ; but when not tight

and not slack, then the sounds were harmonious. So also," Buddha continued, "in regard to the body. If it is harshly treated, it becomes wearied and the mind is listless; if it is too softly treated, then the feelings are pampered and the will is weakened."

ISLAM

Confidence and faith in themselves were a great thing. Islam also gave them a message of brotherhood, of the equality of all those who were Muslims. A measure of democracy was thus placed before the people. Compared to the corrupt Christianity of the day, this message of brotherhood must have had a great appeal, not only for the Arabs, but also for the inhabitants of many countries where they went.

Islam shook up India. It introduced vitality and an impulse for progress in a society which was becoming wholly unprogressive. Hindu art, which had become decadent and morbid, and heavy with repetition and detail, undergoes a change in the north. A new art grows up, which might be called Indo-Muslim, full of energy and vitality. The old Indian master-builders draw inspiration from the new ideas brought by the Muslim. The very simplicity of the Muslim creed and outlook on life influenced the architecture of the day, and brought back to it simple and noble design.

II

GLIMPSES OF WORLD HISTORY

India to-day is a part of a world movement. Not only China, Turkey, Persia and Egypt, but also Russia and the countries of the West are taking part in this movement, and India cannot isolate herself from it. We have our own problems, difficult and intricate, and we cannot run away from them and take shelter in the wider problems that affect the world. But if we ignore the world we do so at our peril. Civilization to-day, such as it is, is not the creation or the monopoly of one people or nation. It is a composite fabric to which all countries have contributed and then have adapted to suit their particular needs. And if India has a message to give to the world, as I hope she has, she has also to receive and learn much from the message of other peoples.

LESSON FROM HISTORY

When everything is changing, it is well to remember the long course of Indian history. Few things in history are more amazing than the wonderful stability of the social structure in India which withstood the impact of numerous alien influences and thousands of years of change and conflict. It withstood them because it always sought to absorb

SECTION V

Forward to Freedom

Jawaharlal has found the greatest romance of his life in taking the Independence Day Pledge and in performing the flag-hoisting ceremony The very pledge, reproduced here, was drafted by him and bears the stamp of his personality; although it breathes the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi. It was January 26, 1930. The Resolution of rememberance, a year after, is equally noteworthy. But the most romantic has been the taking of pledge by him in pushto among the Pathans.

I

PLEDGE TAKEN ON INDEPENDECE DAY

January 26th, 1930.

We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprive a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally, and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence.

India has been ruined economically. The revenue derived from our people is out of all proportion to our income. Our average income is seven pice (less than two pence) per day, and of the heavy taxes we pay, 20 per cent. are raised from the land revenue derived from the peasantry and 3 per cent. from the salt tax, which falls most heavily on the poor.

Village industries, such as hand-spinning, have been destroyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year, and dulling their intellect for want of handicrafts, and nothing has been substituted, as in other countries, for the crafts thus destroyed.

Customs and currency have been so manipulated as to heap further burdens on the peasantry. British manufactured goods constitute the bulk of our imports. Customs duties betray clear partiality for British manufacturers, and revenue from them is used not to lessen the burden on the masses but for sustaining a highly

extravagantly expensive administration. Still more arbitrary has been the manipulation of the exchange ratio which has resulted in millions being drained away from the country.

Politically, India's status has never been so reduced as under the British regime. No reforms have given real political power to the people. The tallest of us have to bend before foreign authority. The rights of free expression of opinion and free association have been denied to us, and many of our countrymen are compelled to live in exile abroad and cannot return to their homes. All administrative talent is killed, and the masses have to be satisfied with petty village offices and clerkships.

Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings, and our training has made us hug the very chains that bind us.

Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly and the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed with deadly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance, has made us think that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence against foreign aggression, or even defend our homes and families from the attacks of thieves, robbers, and miscreants.

We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our country. We recognise, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will therefore prepare ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British Government, and will prepare for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that, if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We therefore hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing Purna Swaraj.

II

RESOLUTION OF REMEMBRANCE

January 26th, 1931.

We, the citizens of……record our proud and grateful appreciation of the sons and daughters of India who have taken part in the great struggle for independence and have suffered and sacrificed so that the motherland may be free; of our great and beloved leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who has been a constant inspiration for us, ever pointing to the path of high purpose and noble endeavour; of the hundreds of our brave youths who have laid down their lives at the altar of freedom; of the martyrs of Peshawar, and the whole Frontier Province, Sholapur, Midnapur District, and Bombay; of the scores of thousands who have faced and suffered barbarous lathi attacks from the

forces of the enemy; of the men of the Garhwali Regiment, and all other Indians in the military and the police ranks of the Government, who have refused, at the peril of their own lives, to fire or take other action against their own countrymen; of the indomitable peasantry of Gujrat, which has faced without flinching and turning back all manner of acts of terrorism, and the brave and long-suffering peasantry of the other parts of India, which has taken full part in the struggle despite every effort to suppress it; of the merchants and the other members of the commercial community, who have helped, at great loss to themselves, in the national struggle and especially in the boycotts of foreign cloth and British goods; of the one hundred thousand men and women who have gone to the prisons and suffered all manner of privation and sometimes assaults and beatings even inside the gaol walls; and especially of the ordinary volunteer who, like a true soldier of India, without care of fame or reward, thinking only of the great cause he served, has laboured unceasingly and peacefully through suffering and hardship.

And we record our homage and deep admiration for the womanhood of India, who, in the hour of peril for the motherland forsook the shelter of their homes and, with unfailing courage and endurance stood shoulder to shoulder with their menfolk in the front line of India's national army, to share with them the sacrifices and triumphs of the struggle; and our pride at the youth of the country and the Vanar Sena, whom even their tender age could not prevent from participating in the struggle and offering martyrs for the cause.

And, further, we record our grateful appreciation of the fact that all the major and minor communities and classes in India have joined together in the great struggle and given of their best to the cause; of, particularly the minority communities—the Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and others who, by their valour and loyal devotion to the cause of the common motherland, have helped in building up a united and indissoluble nation certain of victory, and resolved to achieve and maintain the independence of India, and to use this new freedom to raise the shackles from, and to remove the inequalities among, all classes of the people of India and thus also to serve the larger cause of humanity. And with this splendid and inspiring example of sacrifice and suffering in India's cause before us, we repeat our Pledge of Independence, and resolve to carry on the fight till India is completely free.

III

A year ago I stood in Bannu Town on 'Independence Day', surrounded by a host of Khudai Khidmatgars and other men of the Frontier. We took the pledge together, and, as was fitting, we took it in the Pushto language. I had picked up a few words of this language during my Frontier tour, and I tried to repeat the pledge, word by word, together with the assembled multitude.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, that gaunt and well-beloved figure of the north, was the leader of this solemn chorus, and above our heads floated proudly the National Flag, emblem of that independence to which we pledge ourselves.

That day Khan Sahib took me to many other towns and villages, and everywhere, this solemn and significant ceremony was repeated and the pledge taken. The memory of that day clings to me and the earnest Pathan faces, taking that vow of freedom, form an unforgettable picture in my mind.

To them it was no empty ritual, no ceremony without inner meaning, but a vital real thing, symbolizing the long suppressed desire of these hearts, which found some expression in words of promise and power. Thus we sealed our bond of brotherhood in the great cause of India's freedom.

To-day I take the pledge again in another frontier district of India, for Almora, though nearer to the heart of India, is yet one of the frontiers of this country, bordering on Tibet and Nepal. Another multitude gathers together from the distant valleys and the mountain tops, peasant folk from the border land of Askote, a week's journey from here, and men and women from this ancient town of the eternal snows, to take the pledge of Independence.

Fight years have passed since we took this pledge for the first time, years heavy with sorrow for us and struggle, but also with a measure of triumph and achievement. **But though** success has come to us, we know its meagre worth, and the promised land has yet to be reached when this pledge of ours will redeem itself.

And the World ? War rages in the Far East and in Spain to the accompaniment of incredible and inhuman atrocities, and the black night of reaction covers Europe. Multitudes, tortured beyond endurance, become refugees and wander from one country to another, seeking home and shelter and finding none.

What then does our pledge mean to us to-day, what significance does it have ? Has it grown stale and meaningless through too much repetition, or is it still the vital spark of old which fired us to action and brave endeavour ? Have we grown tired and complacent, tied by offices and the petty routine of administration, thinking in terms of compromise ? Have we forgotten that we still form parts of a slave empire which exploits us and keeps us embedded in dire poverty, and which strangles freedom wherever in this world it fights for breath ? Is it in this Empire that we will find redemption of our pledge ?

There are some amongst us, whose memory is of the shortest, who have already forgotten the pledge they took and the many brave resolution that they made. But we do not forget

and we will not allow others to forget. We have pledged ourselves to win full independence, to put an end to imperialism in India, to sever our connection with the Empire that encircles us. By that pledge we stand.

We stand by it even more than we did eight years ago, for that Empire has added to its sins by the butchery of democracy and freedom in Central Europe and Spain, and the crushing of the Arab people in Palestine. We will not forget this and fight against it in war or peace. We shall fight this policy which hands over the world to fascism.

We stand by that pledge even more to-day because we have seen what petty change has come to us by provincial autonomy, and how imperialism still sits entrenched in the citadels. We see how India's will is repeatedly ignored in the interests of British finance and industry. We see from day to day the employment of British power to crush the people of the states. Rampura is a wilderness to-day, and armed troops gather there from distant parts of India in order to terrorize the people of the Orissa State. In Jaipur, an English Prime Minister dares to challenge not only the people of the State but the Congress organization itself, a challenge that will be accepted. Everywhere it is becoming appaent the struggle in the States is not with the helpless rulers but with the grim might of British Imperialism.

Is this the way in which the British Government seeks the co-operation of the nationalist movement in the provincial autonomy and endeavours to prepare ground for federation? We have had enough of this foolery and the sooner it is ended the better.

The time has gone by for empty and misleading tasks. We are up against the hard realities of the situation, and the pledge we take to-day tells us what path we have to tread and what our inevitable goal is. There is going to be no federation except a federation of a free India. To think of our task in other terms is to betray our pledge and to dishonour ourselves and our cause.

There will be no federation, and the provincial autonomy of to-day must itself fade away and give place to an independent India, a bulwark of democracy and freedom opposing fascism and imperialism alike. That is the meaning of the pledge.

SECTION VI

Foreword to Freedom

Jawaharlal always encourages youngmen of literary qualifications who are fighting the battles of freedom in their own way. He has written scores of forewords and prefaces to books of constructive nationalism. One foreword is reproduced here by way of example. Another illustration in this chapter is a preface to his own book of letters to his daughter—*The Glimpses of World History*. But the pieces are excellent literature, and show the inner exquisiteness of Jawaharlal's mind.

I

Foreword to Political and Economic Studies No. 12.

Indian Foreign Policy by Ram Manohar Lohia

For a subject country like India foreign affairs and foreign policy are considered by many to be outside the scope of practical politics. They are a game at which only free nations can play. There is some truth in this, for a subject country is controlled and bound down by the dominating power even in regard to its foreign policy. India may be an original member of the League of Nations, but all the world knows that this means an additional voice for the British Foreign office. The people of India have no say in the matter and their so-called representatives are nominated by the British Government. And so, inevitably, the subject country concentrates on achieving national independence before it can think of playing an effective part in international affairs.

And yet this is a half-truth and we see its limitations even today. **In spite of her political subjection to Britain, India is increasingly interesting herself in and to some extent influencing foreign affairs. Even today the voice of India counts for something in international affairs.** Why is this so? Because it is recognised that India is on the threshold of freedom and a free India is going to make her weight felt in world affairs. Because also the background of international affairs has changed and is continually changing. Cabinets and Governments still play a dominant role in shaping foreign policy, but the mass of the people and their wishes count for more and more, and though they may

not yet be able to give shape and content to this policy, they influence it and sometimes exercise an effective check over it. **That influence of the people will grow till palace politics and the intrigues of cabinets give place to a real and open collaboratian between the peoples of various countries ; till a league of governments gives place to a league of peoples.**

The people of India will co-operate fully in this task, and it is right therefore that even today they should range themselves with the forces that work to that end. But as a matter of fact it has never been easily possible to separate domestic policy from foreign policy ; each acts and reacts on the other. Today that separation is a manifest impossibility. **And so the Congress, in spite of its pre-occupation with the internal strength for freedom, has been compelled by force of circumstances to think of outside affairs and express itself in regard to them.** As early as 1921, it passed a resolution on the foreign policy of India assuring our neighbouring countries of our friendship for them. As the war danger developed, the Congress expressed itself clearly and declared that India would be no party to imperialist war. We were interested in the fate of Ethiopia, we protested against Japanese aggression in China, we sided whole-heartedly with the Spanish Government in its heroic fight against foreign invasion and domestic rebellion

We took deep interest in all this and more not only because of our sympathy for a people who were fighting for freedom, but because the Indian people were understanding the true significance of events abroad and were developing a definite foreign policy in regard to them. They saw that India's future was to some extent bound up with what was happening in Europe or the Far East. As our vision and understanding have grown, so has our interest in foreign affairs.

The Haripura Congress went a step further in defining our foreign policy but still we are in the threshold of this domain and it is right that Congressmen should give thought to this matter and help in developing a clear-cut and comprehensive policy. **Events march rapidly now-a-days and we must not lag behind them or be caught napping when the time for action comes.**

I welcome this essay of my colleague Dr. Rammanohar Lohia as a contribution to the further study of this subject. He does not necessarily commit the Congress to what he says, but his background is that of the Congress and many will agree with him. He has discussed at some length the changing policy of the British Labour Party. This policy has often been in the past hostile to India or at best indifferent. It has been weak and ineffective in the domestic field. It has given passive support sometimes to the reactionary 'National' Government of the day. And yet at their last conference there were gleams of hope and we must welcome them. We welcome them because if that policy is really pursued, it might offer a basis of co-operation. We have stood up against the British

Government and resisted it but we want to make it clear that our resistance was to their policy and to their domination over India. **We would welcome co-operation with the British people and with other peoples on the basis of Indian independence and world peace. That is the corner-stone of our policy and we cannot give it up.**

There is talk of collective and pooled security to ensure peace and freedom, while on the other hand the world rushes headlong to war and catastrophe. Those who talk of collective security will have to be clear in their minds about it. Is it going to be based on pacts of certain imperialist systems ? To imagine so is to ignore realities. **There can be no collective security or peace on the basis of imperialism, just as there can be no peace if fascism holds sway. There can be no pooled security unless the problem of India and like problems are solved.** India will throw her whole weight in any real scheme of collective security and peace. But if her own freedom is ignored, she will consider the scheme a sham and a farce. The problem of India is thus an essential part of the world problem. Whatever happens, she makes a difference and it is well that this should be realised.

In a world full of war and preparations for war India stands significantly as a country which has deliberately based its policy on peace and non-violence. How far it is possible to apply these methods in the international sphere today it is difficult to say. But it must be remembered that the non-violence of the Indian struggle is not a weak, passive and ineffective pacifism.

It is a dynamic thing with sanctions behind it and if the world is to progress in culture and civilization, it will have to adopt peaceful methods of solving its problems. That day may yet be distant. But India will co-operate with all her heart to bring it nearer.

Meanwhile, it seems clear that collective security must be backed by some kind of effective sanctions against the aggressor. What must these sanctions be ? Military sanctions may perhaps be necessary and inevitable on particular occasions but they involve war, and the remedy may be as bad as the disease. Economic sanctions may also involve that risk, but not necessarily so. They are powerful and on the whole peaceful ; though their effect might not be immediate, it is far-reaching. It is possible to control the aggressor by economic sanctions alone.

To have no sanctions is to allow free play to the aggressor, and ultimately to bow to his will. That cannot be agreed to, for that means no collective security. It means the law of the jungle.

ALLAHABAD JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

MAY 26, 1938.

II

Preface to Glimpses of World History.

I do not know when or where these letters will be published, or whether they will be published at all, for India is a strange land to-day and it is difficult to prophesy. But I am writing these lines while I have the chance to do so, before events forestall me.

An apology and an explanation are needed for this historical series of letters. Those readers who take the trouble to go through them will perhaps find the apology and the explanation. In particular, I would refer the reader to the last letter, and perhaps it would be as well, in this topsy-turvy world, to begin at the end.

The letters have grown. There was little of planning about them, and I never thought that they would grow to these dimensions. Nearly six years ago, when my daughter was ten years old, I wrote a number of letters to her containing a brief and simple account of the early days of the world, these early letters were subsequently published in book form and they had a generous reception. The idea of continuing them hovered in my mind, but a busy life full of political activity prevented it from taking shape. Prison gave me the chance I needed, and I seized it.

Prison-life has its advantages ; it brings both leisure and a measure of detachment. But the disadvantages are obvious. There are no libraries or reference books at the command of the prisoner, and, under these conditions, to write on any subject, and especially history, is a foolhardy undertaking. A number of books came to me, but they could not be kept. They came and went. Twelve years ago, however, when, in common with large numbers of my countrymen and countrywomen, I started my pilgrimages to prison, I developed the habit of making notes of the books I read. My note-books grew in number and they came to my rescue when I started writing. Other books of course helped me greatly, among them inevitably, H. G. Wells *Outline of History*. But the lack of good reference books was very real, and because of this the narrative has often to be slurred over, or particular period skipped.

The letters are personal and there are many intimate touches in them which were meant for my daughter alone. I do not know what to do about them, for it is not easy to take them out without considerable effort. I am, therefore, leaving them untouched.

Physical inactivity leads to introspection and varying moods. I am afraid these changing moods are very apparent in the course of these letters, and the method of treatment is not the objective one of a historian. There is an unfortunate mixture of elementary writing for the young and a discussion at times of the ideas of grown-ups. There are numerous repetitions. Indeed, of the faults that these lettets contain there is no end. They are superficial sketches joined together by a thin thread. I have borrowed my facts and

ideas from odd books, and many errors may have crept in. It was my intention to have these letters revised by a competent historian, but during my brief period out of prison I have not had the time to make any such arrangement.

In the course of these letters, I have often expressed my opinions rather aggressively. I hold to those opinions, but even as I was writing the letters, my, outlook on history changed gradually, to-day if I had to rewrite them, I would write differently or with a different emphasis. But I cannot tear up what I have written and start afresh.

Jawaharlal Nehru

January 1, 1934.

SECTION VII

Nature on War-Path

Jawaharlal Nehru has had to fight relentlessly not only against the British imperialism but also the imperialism of nature. Famines, floods and earthquakes have often visited our unfortunate country. The following statements were issued by Jawaharlal during the Bihar Earthquake in February 1934 when he served the sufferers with his own hands. "His presence," says Babu Rajendra Prasad, "consoled the sufferers and inspired the workers. He threw himself with his characteristic zeal into the work...... Spade in hand, he set to work and showed us and the sufferers into following his noble example."

I

On reading the news of the disaster in Bihar, Panditji issued the following appeal from Calcutta :—

The terrible earthquake catastrophe that has overwhelmed Bihar and stricken thousands of homes has for the moment shaken and numbed us all. Many of us of the Congress are engrossed in our freedom struggle ; but, even so, the call of the suffering and the afflicted must be attended to, and I hope Congressmen will give every help, personal service as well as money and material, to those that have been rendered helpless. **There must be hundreds of thousands of orphan children to be looked after. That should be the special province and privilege of our women and as happened in Japan, every household can offer at least a temporary welcome to one or two orphan boys or girls.** The burden of relief will naturally fall most heavily on our brothers and sisters of Bihar, but I hope that other provinces will help to share it. Fortunately Babu Rajendra Prasad is free to give the lead and guide the work. I do not know if he is well enough, but his advice will be invaluable. It is most gratifying to find that the Indian Medical Association has already taken prompt steps to render medical relief.

II

Statement issued to the press after his return from Muzaffarpur on January 24, 1934 :—

My visit to Muzaffarpur has convinced me—if furthur conviction was necessary—that help in the shape of money, blankets

and clothes is most urgently required. Various official and non-official agencies are at work in organizing relief and there is some danger of duplication and waste of effort, although every attempt will undoubtedly be made for co-operation in the same common task. **Official agencies are heavy of movement, expensive and surrounded by red tape. They seldom reach fully or effectively the masses who are most affected., Therefore, it is desirable for us to concentrate on the non-official agencies that are functioning and to send our help to them.** These agencies are gradually consolidating themselves under the Central Relief Fund of which Babu Rejendra Prasad is the President, and many representative persons in Bihar are the members. I earnestly appeal, therefore, for help to be sent direct to Babu Rajendra Prasad or to the Bihar Bank, Patna, for this Central Relief Fund. It is inadvisible for individuals and groups to attempt to carry relief directly to the areas affected. They should communicate first with the Central Relief Committee at Patna who will direct their efforts in the right direction. Above all, it should be remembered that delay defeats the object in view. Urgent and immediate help is wanted. Blankets, old and new ; clothes, used and un-used, and above all money. First aid appliances are also needed.

Bihar has been struck down by a terrible natural calamity. We in other provinces have escaped. A slight turn in fortune's wheel, and we of other cities and areas might have had to face disaster and the loss of our loved ones. We have escaped but many of our brethren and sisters have been stricken down and call in suffering and agony, to us, the fortunate ones, for help. **The dead are beyond our reach, but the living and the maimed lie in the shadow of death and fight for life. Their strength fails them but their feeble cry has reached the hearts of India's millions.** The call has been heard and all our strength and resources must go out in answer to it.

III

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, after going round Matilari District and Sitamarhi sub-division (Muzaffarpur District) in a press interview said :—

The crops are gone and there are large sheets of water all round. The future is theratened with a dangerous situation. in some places, roads are passable while in others one has to go in boats for three miles at a stretch. It is monstrous to think of collecting rent now from the peasants. Rent must be remitted. I am amused to learn of an attachment of a peasant's property in Vedaul (Katna Thana) for Chowkidari tax after the earthquake. His 'lota' and beddings were attached. It is extraordinary that such things should happen. **Obviously, when one talks of relief, it means that a person has no resources to live upon and to ask him to pay any kind of tax is absurd. The question is not how much he is to pay, but how much he is to be paid by us.** Probably, in most instances officials are discouraging such tendencies but this

is not a matter to be left to the discretion of individuals at such time. Formal orders might be issued postponing all pending suits and definitely laying down that no other suits must be instituted for a definite period of some length. The situation in Sitamarhi sub-division seems to me to be full of dangerous possibilities in view of the almost total failure of the crops which have come after all these days, of dead harvests and flood.

When asked regarding the condition of the middle classes and the alleged inadequate relief received by them, Panditji said :—

I have not looked into the matter, but I am inclined to think that this complaint, while partly true, is wholly unjustifiable. It can be true in the sense that the immediate need was of the poorest classes which had no food and which lacked the immediate necessities of life. In the case of the middle classes this was not so acute, although in individual cases it was bad. Naturally, relief agencies supplied the necessities first to those who lacked them, including members of the middle classes. The real demand from the middle class, which has not so far found fulfilment, is for loans and other kinds of assistance, such as help to start some kind of business, etc. Some such kind of help will no doubt have to be given, but it is bound to take second place during the first few weeks of urgent relief.

IV

Again after return from his tour from affected areas, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a press interview at Patna said :—

I have returned after weeks of wandering in the earthquake areas in North Bihar and impressed more than ever about the havoc caused by this terrible disaster and the vastness of the problem to be faced. I had read a great deal about the results of the earthquake ; I had seen many pictures ; I had even visited previously the ruined city of Muzaffarpur and I had thought that I had a fair idea of the conditions prevailing in the affected area. But the actual sight of mile after mile of desolate sand-covered land—land covered with cracks, fissures and petty crater-like protuberances in the Sitamarhi area and elsewhere in the north—I will never forget, and Monghyr with all that I had heard and read, had not prepared me for the fearsome sight that met my eyes. I stood staggered and appalled to see the heap of utter ruin and desolation of what was once a rich and flourishing city. I have come back with many impressions. I hope to put them down in a report which I shall submit to the Earthquake Relief Committee at Allahabad and the Bihar Central Relief Committee.

But I like to pay my tribute of admiration to the numerous group of workers from all over India who are giving their

personal service to the cause of relief. It would not have been surprising if friction had developed in this mixed heterogeneous crowd engaged in a novel undertaking. Some petty cases of friction have taken place, but on the whole there has been remarkable and most pleasing co-operation and co-ordination of activities. I could not discover any instance of communal or sectional activity in any group or even individual worker. The Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Christians and others have pulled together and tried to work as Indians face to face with a common disaster. It is well that the country should realize and appreciate not only the real spirit of service that our people have shown but also powers of organization and mutual co-operation and I take pride in this.

V

Statement issued on February 12, 1934 after Jawaharlal return from tour :—

Nine gentlemen of Bihar have given a chit to the Government of Bihar for what is called their prompt action in dealing with the earthquake situation. They have expressed their admiration and gratitude for this, and have deprecated that anything should have been said to give a contrary impression. Sir Samuel Hoare has not failed to take advantage of this statement and has, after his wont, paid another tribute to the magnificent services that rule us.

In giving the certificate of good behaviour, the nine gentlemen perhaps had in view a certain statement made by me recently. I have no desire to deprive the Bihar Government of this chit, nor have I got the least wish to find fault with the Government or any one, at a time of great difficulty. But in the face of an unparalleled disaster, vital facts cannot be ignored or slurred over, especially when they affect future action. Individuals on the spot, whether officials or non-officials, must have received a great shock, and it would be ungenerous to judge them by standards meant for normal times. No one of us can say how he or she will behave in the face of such an overwhelming catastrophe. But governments cannot be judged by individual and personal standards. If they claim to be efficient, they have to be judged by standards of efficiency. **The Government, we have, has a measure of efficiency in certain departments—in collecting taxes, in repressing political activity, in running its bureaucratic machine, etc. It takes action swiftly and often ruthlessly when its interests are at stake. It passes new laws overnight to strengthen its position whenever that is required. But is it equally efficient and swift in other forms of activity? Was it efficient in the days immediately following the earthquake? I am sure that the Bihar Government knows in its own heart that it was not so. And I am surer still that public opinion of every shade in the**

affected area thinks so, though this may not find expression in newspapers. Habitual supporters of the Government, title-holders and the like, have told me so in plain enough language.

No one blames the Government for the earthquake. But if a government fails to act at the right moment, it is inefficient, and if this failure results in serious loss to the community, it must be held responsible for this loss. The Government, we have, has a long record of inefficiency in many matters and a classic description of this was given by the late Mr. E. S. Montague in connection with the Mesopotamian muddle.

The first step that the Government had to take immediately after the catastrophe was to act swiftly, measure up the situation, restore communications, and try to save life and lessen human suffering and loss. A study of the earlier communiques of the Bihar Government will show how erroneously they viewed the situation and how they tried to minimise the loss. Even district officers who wanted to take quick action had no assistance then from their government. Large numbers of living persons were lying under the debris, suffering untold agonies and dying the most painful of deaths. What steps did the Government take to rescue them in these vital early days? What has it done since in regard to this? So far as I know the Government has not attempted to remove the debris from any considerable number of houses. Some roads have certainly been cleared, and this was an important matter, but the houses with their dead and half-dead remained. It was not a very difficult matter to rush troops to clear the debris, or to utilise the services of the thousands of railway workers at Jamalpur for Monghyr, or to engage an army of labourers for this special purpose. No such step was taken and the debris remains still except where it has been removed to a small extent by private agencies. But private and non-official agencies have many difficulties to face, some of these of the Government's making, some due to the sacrosanct laws of private property.

A fact, which has a terrible significance, is the recovery of living persons from under the debris, day after day, right up to the thirteenth day after the earthquake. Many bodies were also recovered, which doctors testified to having died a day or two earlier. How many died during that fateful period when they might have been rescued alive, if a real effort in that direction had been made?

The Government has demonstrated that it can produce special laws and ordinances at a moment's notice. Could it not declare a state of emergency in the affected areas and pass special measures to deal with the new conditions swiftly as other governments have done under similar circumstances?

I had no desire to go back to past events and to cry over spilt milk. But if the Government wants to surround itself with

the halo of sanctity and to gather chits of good character, it will have to face criticism. And the purpose of this criticism is not to waste time and energy over past happenings, which are beyond remedy, but to take lesson for the future. The situation cannot be met by pious phrases and platitudes or by the wooden methods of a red-tape-ridden officialdom living in the ruts of routine. Vision is necessary and courage and an organic view of the present situation, so that even out of the disaster something worth while might emerge. I know that many officers of Government are devoting themselves to the work of relief with commendable energy. But that energy will not carry them far, unless the mind of the Government behind them functions with speed and efficiency.

SECTION VIII

Deserting the Battle-Field

Going abroad, says Jawaharlal, is like deserting the battle-field, but it is impossible for him to go away from the arena of war against imperialism. When he goes to England, he does not run away from the scene of the combat, but rather he carries the fire into the heart of the enemy. This chapter includes some of his utterances in England in 1936 and on return to India.

I

FIGHTING ABROAD

I did not know that it was a special merit on my part to visit foreign countries, something which deserved the high honour you have done me. For a soldier to desert from the field of battle and while away his time in leisurely repose, far from the scenes of conflict is not usually considered a very praiseworthy act. But you have made even this an occasion for doing me honour. The reason can only be as you have yourself hinted at, your exceeding kindness and your affection which seeks an occasion when there is none. May I say that nothing could give me greater pleasure than this token of affection from the peasants of the district of Allahabad and their representatives? **I have wandered in many of your villages and have ever met with the warmest welcome, and the poorest out of his poverty has offered hospitality.** Political life has many ups and downs, many disappointments, many sinkings of heart, and I have had my share of these, but more than amply have all these been compensated by the love and trust of the peasantry and I look back on my association with them with these feelings of gratitude. I can never forget them or their live and simple faith for one who is not one of them, who belonged to a different class and who lived a life of comfort and ease whilst they suffered poverty and a lack of all good things of life. They did me the high honour of treating me almost as one of themselves. That honour I shall treasure to the last.

II.

MAN AND MAN

You have referred to two things which are very dear to me, independence for this country of ours and equality beween man and man. You could have chosen nothing else for which I cared as much. I rejoice that you sympathise with these ideals. Whatever differences there may be among politicians and others, I make bold to say that there is no Indian who does not want to look forward to complete independence for this country. Differences there are about methods. May I remind you that twenty years ago Gopal Kirshna Gokhale, who dedicated his life to the service of the motherland said that he hoped that India would achieve complete independence some day? The day is twenty years nearer now than it was then, and let us hope that we shall see it soon.

To-day we see a society in which there are tremendous differences between man and man. Great riches on one side and great poverty on the other. Some people live in luxury without doing any work, whilst others work from morning to night with no rest or leisure and yet have not got the barest necessaries of life. This cannot be right. It is the negation of justice. It is not the fault of our individuals who happen to be rich. It is the fault of the system and it is up to us to change this system which permits of exploitation of man by man and produces so much misery. Our country can produce enough to permit every man and woman living in it to live in comfort and peace. Every man and woman must have the opportunity to develop to the best of his or her ability. But to do so, we shall have to forget some of our ideas of a by-gone age. Honour and merit must come from ability and hard work and not because of caste or birth or riches. Let each one of us consider the other as his brother, not higher or lower, neither to be worshipped nor despised, but treated as equal with equal rights to share this good country of ours and all it produces.

FIGHT OUT POVERTY

I have travelled much and I have compared with pain the condition of the peasantry in other countries with our peasants. In other countries, I have found a large measure of comfort and even luxury; here there is abject poverty, which is made worse by the evil customs which we still adhere to. **We must fight and get rid of the causes of this poverty and also discard these customs which keep us from progress. We must learn what is happening in other countries and profit by their example.** Our district boards often approach the Government for grants. But have you realised that the whole machinery of Government is run from the rural areas? All the money spent on the army, on the huge salaries of the Viceroy and Governors and other officials—where does ita lrgely come from except from the povertw

stricken villages of India? Even our towns live at the expense of our villages and what do our villages get in return? There is very little education, very little sanitation or medical facilities and absolutely no arrangements for proper housing. All your money is taken away and when you beg for doles, very little is given to you by way of favour. In other countries it is the bounden and first duty of the State to give free education to every person, free medical facilities and sanitation and to build good houses for the poor. In other countries it is felt that no nation can be strong unless its men and women are healthy and well-educated. But here it is more important to pay heavy salaries to officials and spend money on the army. **No one thinks of the poor,** and the country is weak and poor. **We must put an end to this if we have to build up a prosperous India full of healthy and educated men and women. The future of India lies with the peasantry.**

III
ECONOMIC COMMUNALISM

Of all matters the communal problem was least understood by the British people. They thought India to be a jumble of various castes and creeds, utterly irreconcilable to one another. The British statesmen having made a mess of minorities problem in Europe in the Treaty of Versallies whose joint authors they were, could not take a balanced view of minorities problem in India, they were bent upon repeating the mistakes which had led to the rise of Fascism in Europe. Pandit Jawaharlal told his British audiences that the communal problem is not a religious problem; it has almost nothing to do with religion.

"It is partly an economic problem and partly a middle class problem in a large political sense. It practically came into existence in the last 25 or 30 years. **It grew specially in the last 15 years** or so. **But there is far more religious bitterness in Northern Ireland than there is in India. Not one of the communal groups touches the problem of masses. They are all interested in the problem of jobs. They want to get more jobs.** The idea of power coming in the hands of the people under constitutional acts had led middle class people to think in terms of getting spoils and patronage. I do not think it is a very difficult problem to solve. If social and economic issues come to the point, the communal problem falls into background. My outlook is economic whereas yours—I mean of the British political leaders—is political. There cannot be a simple solution of the complicated problem of India. The balance of social forces from time to time has got to be realized. Since the Congress came on the scene, the Indian peasantry is influencing the Congress which is no doubt controlled by middle class. As an organisation it has no consistent economic philosophy, but it is tending to divide on economic and nationalist lines—the Left and Right wings of the Congress. A few years ago the Congress passed a resolution on social reforms. You may call it a weak and watery approach to socialism but that was the first approach."

DANGER TO CIVIL LIBERTY

The danger to civil liberties of people was greater in India than in England. Subhas Bose's arrest was a glaring example of this. The Working Committee had already passed a resolution protesting against this, but Pandit Jawaharlal wanted to begin his campaign for defence of civil liberties, by a nation-wide protest against this policy of the Government by holding meetings all over the country on May 10.

" **Subhas Bose's arrest is one of the latest and most significant instances of widespread intensive suppression of Civil liberties in India**.........It may be remembered that the question of protecting civil liberties is one that affects all Indians whatever political or other party group they might belong to, or whether they belong to none. It is not a matter that affects Congressmen only. Therefore on this question we should invite co-operation of all who believe in civil liberty to endeavour to build up a joint front on this issue. "

THE CAPITALISTS-IN-ARMS

" After tremendous labour," said Jawaharlal Nehru, "we have tried to evolve proposals to lighten the burden to the peasants while retaining the present system. Even these proposals, moderate in many ways as they are, are now attacked by big Zamindars and Taluqadars. The U. P. Government is going to stick to those proposals, and no number of threats or hysteria is going to shake it from its position. In the approved fascist style, they are thinking of raising volunteers to protest these vested interests. Do they not realise the dangers and stakes that attend this path of theirs ? At the call of the Congress, a million volunteers will rise from the villages of the United Provinces. If they invite a conflict on the Bill that is before the U. P. Assembly they may have to struggle to retain a semblance of the Zamindari system. " The ferment had not risen in the villages, of U. P. only. The capitalists at Cawnpore were also up in arms against the Congress, due to its labour legislation.

Pt. Jawaharlal uttered a warning to these gentlemen too. " It is interesting to note, " he said, " that the millionaires of Lucknow are joining hands with these big Zamindars and Taluqadars. Faced by the general strike in Cawnpore, they are linking hand with all the reactionary elements in the province, and make wild charges of Moscow gold flowing into India. I should like them to substantiate these charges. The Congress in the U. P. is supporting and will continue to support both the workers of Cawnpore and the peasant masses of the province. I hope that wiser counsels will prevail with the industrial and landed magnates of U. P. and their hysteria will end in talk only. "

THE WORLD RUSHED TO CATASTROPHE.

When the Munich Capitulards were carving up Czceheslovakia, Pt. Nehru was at Geneva. From Geneva he proceeded

to London in time to hear from the lips of Mr. Chamberlain the barefaced admission of the betrayal of Czechoslovakia. Pt. Nehru who had great love for the Czechoslovakian State felt keenly about her fate. Mr. Chamberlain struck him as a man singularly incapable of holding the post of British Premier. He spoke in England about Indian situation and offered sympathy to all those who were under the heels of Fascism and Imperialism. But he declared there could be no question of India fighting for democracy when that was denied to her.

" We are not concerned over-much with the Federation, for we want the whole of the Government of India Act to go and to be replaced by a constitution of our own making. The time has passed for minor remedies and the world rushes to catastrophe. We may yet avert this if the progressive forces of the world were together. India can play her part in this company but only a free India can do so. "

MUSLIM LEAGUE

"The League's attacks on the Congress were baseless and absurd, he was ashamed that an Indian should indulge in such abuse, while they were all engaged in the fight for freedom. **The Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League were attempting to divide India among Hindus and Muslims. It was the duty of the majority to be generous to the minorities and he was sure that this was the attitude of the Congress Ministries. "**

IV

REPLY TO JINNAH

But the high priests of Muslim League continued their virulent campaign against Congress. They were not touched by such appeals to patriotism. A few days after the above statement of Pt. Nehru, Mr. Jinnah publicly repeated the attacks on Congress governments. Pt. Jawaharlal wanted to end this distasteful controversy. In a statement in reply to Jinnah, he declared : Mr. Jinnah and other leaders of the Muslim League have charged the Congress governments with committing atrocities. This is a very serious charge. Similar charges have been made previously by Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq and he has been asked repeatedly to supply details. He has not done so. Mr. Jinnah has suggested, I do not know, my province, and in his last statement has mentioned the names of four places, which presumably have been the scenes of governmental atrocities in the U. P. These four places are Tana, Bhadri, Bhagalpur and Hazaribagh. Evidently Mr. Jinnah is mistaken as two of these places are not in U. P. at all. I do not think there is any difficulty in having an impartial inquiry into the specific charges. No question of sanctions or powers arises. **Mr. Jinnah and I are both anxious to get at the truth, which may confirm our previously held opinions or be at variance with them. We want the assistance of impartial investigator for this.**

If we get such impartial opinion, then the next thing will be to determine what is further to be done in the matter. It should not be difficult to fix upon one or two or three persons whose

judgment and impartiality can be relied upon by Mr. Jinnah and others. Preferably they should not be connected with the Congress or the League viewpoint. I do not come into the picture at all, but I am sure the U P. Government will give every facility to any such persons to find out the facts I suggest that one or two such persons be chosen and they be requested to inquire into selected instances of Governmental atrocities, such as the two instances Mr. Jinnah has mentioned—Tana and Badri. The charge is against the Government and they should consider each instance from the point of view as to whether the Government have been guilty of any atrocities or even of improper behaviour in regard to it. They should examine all relevant reports and papers, including official papers, as well as such evidence as the Pirpur Committee has collected. Further they might make such additional inquiries as they might consider necessary. The inquiry should be limited to specific charges, as otherwise it will become a vague inquiry, which will produce no helpful result. Later, if necessary, other instances can be inquired into. What I have suggested is a simple feasible course, which can be adopted without delay or difficulty. I am making this suggestion on my own behalf without reference to any member of the U. P. Government but I am sure the Prime Minister and his colleagues will agree to it."

V

PRINCES AND PUPPETS

He believed that the Government of India pulled the strings and the Princes danced like puppets. The Government had begun the practice of installing British Prime Ministers in Indian States. But while he castigated the Government of India for interference in matters of States he did not spare the State rulers.

"The problems of Government," he said, "require something more than a knowledge of how to manage polo-ponies or recognise the breeds of dogs or have the skill to kill large number of inoffensive animals.

"It is obvious that both in Kashmir and Hyderabad existing conditions cannot be put up with and if the States continue to act in the manner they have so far done, a resumption of civil disobedience will become inevitable."

"The freedom of the people of the States is a big enough thing, yet it is part of the larger freedom of India, and till we gain that larger freedom, it is a struggle for us. If the federation is imposed on us, we shall fight it and sweep it away. Wherever the British power intervenes against the people in the States, we shall have to face it. The time approaches when the final solution has to come to the constituent assembly of all the Indian people framing the constitution of a free and democratic India."

VI

Numerous resolutions were passed by the States' Peoples' Conference, dealing with situation in Kashmir and Hyderabad. The main resolution moved by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru is as follows :—

"This Conference welcomes the great awakening among the people of States all over India and the progress made by them in their struggle for responsible government, and establishment of civil liberty. It sends its greetings to all those carrying on the struggle and expresses its support with them. The Conference further desires to express its appreciation of and its gratitude to the Indian National Congress, and its leaders, specially Gandhiji, for the lead they have given in the struggle of States' People and for the part they are taking in conducting it.

"In view of development of this struggle (Congress policy in regard to it), the time has come when the struggle should be co-ordinated with the wider struggle for Indian independence of which it is the integral part. Such an integrated all-India struggle must necessarily be carried on under the guidance of the Congress and the Conference gladly pledges its loyal co-operation to it. This Conference therefore directs and authorises its Working Committee, which in future should be called standing committee, to endeavour by every means to co-ordinate this struggle in close co-operation with and under the guidance of the Indian National Congress or any sub-committee that the Congress might form for this purpose. This committee will publish books, pamphlets and journals dealing with the problems of States and will carry on other activities, necessary for the attainment of the objects of the Conference. This Committee is authorised to open a research department of States' problems and to gather materials for effectively carrying on its activities. The standing committee will have the authority to co-opt additional members to up to one-fourth of its strength and filling vacancies in it."

NEHRU AND BOSE

"**The vital question before us is how we are to shape in the coming international crisis and national crisis. We may not do anything which might create a domestic conflict and thus disable us, when we most need our united strength.** I have had some experience of the Cougress Presidentship during the trying times and on several occasions I was on the point of resigning because I felt that I could serve the cause of the Congress better without office. This year some colleagues urged me to stand again for the Presidentship. I refused absolutely for reasons which I need not discuss here.

"For these and other reasons, I was equally clear that Subhas Babu should not stand. I felt that his and my capacity for effective work would be lessened by holding this office at this stage. I told Subhas Babu so. I was equally clear in my mind that the obvious person for the Presidentship this year was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Every line of reasoning led me to this conclusion. He was peculiarly fitted to deal with some of our vital problems. He had that delicate insight and sensitiveness which understood and appreciated viewpoints other than his own. He was an elder statesman of the

Congress, respected and trusted by all and most fitted to keep our varied ranks together. May I add that my admiration for his keen intelligence and rare insight has grown from year to year during the past twenty years that I have been privileged to know him. I pressed him to agree to stand for the Presidentship and so did many others. We had thought that we had convinced him, but unfortunately he did not agree finally. His weak health and his dislike of publicity and election contests came in his way.

" Personally I do not see, what principles or programmes are at stake in this election. I do not want it to be said at the end of the contest that a particular programme has been rejected, when in fact it was not in issue. Whoever wins, federation loses. I trust that if there is a contest, the high dignity of our cause will be borne in mind by all concerned and nothing will be done which may weaken the great organisation in whose service so many of us have spent their lives. The future is dark with conflict and we shall have to brave ourselves to meet it as a united people with courage and confidence, forgetting persons, remembering our principles and our cause."

VII

RIGHT AND LEFT

(Gandhi called it his own defeat. But Jawaharlal did not consider that the 'Rightists had suffered any defeat. He did not like the idea of people taking it as a defeat for one cause or victory for the other). " The press is full of statements made by groups and individuals and the words Leftist and Rightist are bandied about without any regard to their meaning. There is a spate of good advice. **The election will have served one good purpose, if it serves to make us think clearly about the situation in India and abroad. Vague talk and bad assertion or criticisms do not make a Leftist or Rightist or help in drawing up a policy.** It is necessary therefore that this talk and criticism should be confined in the narrow channels of reasoning and reality and should lead to a clear and precise definition of our policy, which should be the basis of future action. The problem before us is the achievement of India's independence and the establishment of a free, united and democratic state in India. It is from that point of view that everything should be judged. Yet we argue about relatively petty matters and think in terms of this office or that.

"There are Rightists and Leftists in both groups, and there is no doubt that some of our best fighting elements are in the Gandhian group. If the Congress is looked upon from the Rightist or Leftist point of view it might be said that there is a small Rightist fringe, a Left minority and huge intermediate group or groups which approximate to Left centre."

DOLES OF DEPRESSION

Again and again, during the next few months, I considered this question of resignation. I found it difficult to work smoothly with my own colleagues in the Congress executive, and it became

clear to me that they viewed my activities with apprehension. It was not so much that they objected to any specific act but they disliked the general trend and direction. They had justification for this as my outlook was different. I was completely loyal to Congress decision but I emphasized certain aspects of them, while my colleagues emphasized other aspects. I decided finally to resign and I informed Gandhiji of my decision. In the course of my letter to him I wrote that **"since my return from Europe I have found that the meetings of the Working Committee exhaust me greatly; they have a devitalising effect on me and I have almost the feeling of being much older in years after every fresh experience. I should not be surprised if this feeling was also shared by my colleagues of the Committee. It is an unhealthy experience and it comes in the way of effective work."**

This dissatisfaction found expression in the Congress itself and the more advanced elements grew restive. I was myself unhappy at the trend of events as I noticed that our fine fighting organisation was being converted gradually into just an electioneering organisation. A struggle for independence seemed to be inevitable and this phase of provincial autonomy was just a passing one. In April 1938 I wrote to Gandhiji expressing my dissatisfaction at the work of the Congress Ministers, "They are trying to adapt themselves far too much to the old order and trying to justify it. But all this, bad as it is, might be tolerated. What is far worse is that we are losing the high position that we have built up, with so much labour, in the hearts of the people. We are sinking to the level of ordinary politicians."

VIII
COMING TO A HEAD

Matters came to a head in the Congress at the Presidential election early in 1939. Unfortunately Maulana Abul Kalam Azad refused to stand and Subhas Chandra Bose was elected after a contest. This gave rise to all manner of complications and deadlocks which persisted for many months. At the Tripuri Congress there were unseemly scenes. I was at that time very low in spirit and it was difficult for me to carry on without a breakdown. Political events, national and international happenings, affected me of course, but the immediate causes were unconnected with public affairs. I was disgusted with myself and in a press article I wrote: "I fear I give little satisfaction to them (my colleagues), and yet that is not surprising, for I give even less satisfaction to myself. It is not out of this stuff that leadership comes and the sooner my colleagues realised this the better for them and me. The mind functions efficiently enough, the intellect is trained to carry on through habit, but the springs that give life and vitality to that functioning seem to dry up."

Subhas Bose resigned from the Presidentship and started the Forward Bloc, which was intended to be almost a rival organisation to the Congress. It petered out after a while, as it was bound to do,

but it added to the disruptive tendencies and the general deterioration. Under cover of fine phrases, adventurist and opportunist elements found platforms, and I could not help thinking of the rise of the Nazi party in Germany. Their way had been to mobilise mass support for one programme and then to utilise this for an entirely different purpose.

Deliberately I kept out of the new Congress Executive. I felt I could not fit in and I did not like much that had been done. Gandhiji's fast in connection with Rajkot and the subsequent developments upset me. I wrote then that the "sense of helplessness increases after the Rajkot events. I cannot function where I do not understand, and I do not understand at all the logic of what has taken place." "More and more," I added, "the choice before many of us becomes difficult, and this is no question of Right or Left or even of political decisions. The choice is of unthinking acceptance of decisions which sometimes contradict each other and have no logical sequence, or opposition, or inaction. Not one of these courses is easily commendable. To accept unthinkingly what one cannot appreciate or willingly agree to, produces mental flabbiness and paralysis. No great movement can be carried on on this basis; certainly not a democratic movement. Opposition, is difficult when it weakens us and helps the adversary. Inaction produces frustration and all manner of complexes when from every side comes the call for action." —*Autobiography*

IX
THE CRISIS OF HUMANITY

"The crisis that has overtaken Europe is not of Europe only but of humanity and will not pass like other crises of wars, leaving the essential structure of the present-day world intact. It is likely to refashion the world for good, politically or economically. This crisis is the inevitable consequence of the social and political conflicts and contradictions which have grown alarmingly since the last war and it will not be finally resolved till those conflicts and contradictions are removed and a new equilibrium is established. That equilibrium can only be based on the ending of the domination and exploitation of one country by another and on a reorganisation of economic relations on a juster basis for the common good of all. India is the crux of problem, for India has been the outstanding example of a modern Imperialism and no refashioning of the world can succeed which ignores this vital problem. With her vast resources she must play an important part in any scheme of world reorganisation. But she can only do as a free nation. Freedom to-day is indivisible and every attempt to retain imperialist domination in any part of the world will lead inevitably to fresh disaster.

"The struggle would mean much more than waving of flags or singing of national songs. It will mean a much greater effort

and we will all have to make greater sacrifices and face greater sufferings than we have done in the past."

GANDHISM ON TRIAL

(Gandhiji believed that everything depended on the practice of non-violence ; one should not worry about the goal. He wanted people to follow his teachings of non-violence and the future would take care of itself.)

"This is not a political or scientific attitude, nor is it perhaps even an ethical attitude. It is narrowly moralist and it begs the question, what is goodness ? Is it merely individual effort ? Gandhiji lays all stress on character and attaches little importance to intellectual training and development. Intellect without character is likely to be dangerous, but what is character without intellect ? How indeed does character develop ? **Gandhiji has been compared to the mediaeval Christian saints and much that he says seems to fit in with this. It does not fit in at all with modern psychological experience and method.**

In a statement to the press on October 1940, he declared :—

"He (Gandhiji) has developed a certain technique of action, which has yielded great results to our movement for freedom. It is clear that the Congress and the country want that technique to be continued and it is obvious that Gandhiji is best fitted to lead a movement with that technique."

THERE IS NO REST

In this world of infinite suffering where violence and hatred and the spirit of destruction seem to reign supreme, there is no rest or avoidance of travail. **In this India where foreign and authoritarian rule oppresses and strangles us, there is no peace for us, and the call for action in the interest of a free India and a free world comes incessantly in our ears.** The call of India is there for those who wish to hear. The call of suffering humanity becomes more agonising from day to day. So there is no rest for us, but to carry the burden of the day and hold fast to our anchor. We have watched from after the heroic courage and infinite sacrifice of the people struggling for their freedom, especially of the people of China after four and a half years of terrible struggle and of the people of Soviet Union pouring their hearts' blood and destroying their own mighty achievements, so that freedom may live. Our conditions are different, our ways of struggles are not the same. Yet there is the same call for sacrifice and discipline and iron determination. The call of India continues to resound in our ears, and tingle the blood in our veins. So let us go forward then along the path of our choice and take all trials and tribulations with sincerity and confidence and with smiling countenance."

X

SENSATION OF FREEDOM

After the Delhi talks, Pt. Nehru issued a statement to the press. He said :—

"So far as I know India, and I know it tolerably well, the major sentiment in India is one of hostility to the British in India.

You cannot root out 150 years of past history and all that has happened in these years. It has sunk deep down to the Indian soul. Suppose we had come to an agreement and had to convert, to change that sentiment suddenly, we could have done it if we could have given a sensation of freedom to the people of India. The best thing they can do is to acknowledge India as an Independent nation. I am prepared to welcome help and assistance from any nation or nations, if they are prepared to recognise India an Independent nation. That is all that I desire."

THE MENACE OF JAPAN

"I cannot tolerate the idea that I should sit idle or the people should sit idle, while the battle for India is being fought between foreign armies, while the Japanese are invading the country.

"The fundamental factor is not what the British Government does to us or what we do to them. The fundamental question is the peril to India and what we are going to do about it. Therefore certainly, in spite of what has happened, we are not going to embarrass the British War effort in India or the effort of our American friends who may come here. We want production to go at full speed ahead. We want the people to hold to their jobs, and not run away from them. We cannot participate in Britain's war effort, but the problem before us is how not participating in that war effort and not embarrassing it, to organise our own war effort, on our own basis of a free and independent India. I hope the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting in a fortnight's time will consider this problem and tell us what to do about it."[7]

SECTION IX

Get Out Of The Ruts

Old and weary nations, like old and weary people, find their grave in the ruts. Every lifeless conference is a tombstone on nation's vitality. No wonder, Jawaharlal advises youngmen to keep clear of the ruts and cultivate a creative and adventurous spirit. Even the aged people should try to partake of youthful faith and enthusiasm. The following quotations are selected from his various statements and speeches.

I

I am a little tired and weary of conferences and a little doubtful of the extent of their utility. But even though my enthusiasm for conferences may have waned, my attraction to a conference of youths remains, for it is so unlike the gatherings of older folk. Many of you also, it may be, when you grow older, may unhappily fall into the ancient ruts and forget the spirit of adventure and dare-devilry which was yours when you were young. But to-day you are young and full of enthusiasm and I, with the years creeping on me, have come to you to be a sharer in your abounding hope and courage and to take back with me to my daily work some measure of your faith and enthusiasm. I have come because the call of youth is an imperative one and few can say no to it, and when this call came from you, young men and women of Bombay, who have been the leaders in the recent awakening of youth in this country, I appreciated the honour all the more and gratefully accepted it.

Why do people meet in conferences ? Why have you met here to-day ? Not surely just to deliver speeches and listen to them or as a mere diversion from your work and play. Not simply to play a prominent part in the political or social arena, to become a celebrity and be intoxicated by the applause of the multitude. You have met here, I take it, because you are not content with things as they are and seek to change them. Because you do not

believe that all is for the best in this best of all possible worlds. Because you feel the weight on your young shoulders of the sorrow and misery of this country and this world of ours, and with the energy and fine temper of youth you believe that you have it in you to remove this load of sorrow or at least to lessen its weight. If this is the urge that has brought you here then you have met well and out of your meeting and deliberations something of permanent good might emerge. But if you are not dissatisfied with existing conditions, if you have not felt this urge which makes you restless and drives and lashes you to action, then wherein do you differ from the gathering of older people who talk and debate and argue much and act little ? **It is not those who are continually seeking security and have made a god of discretion who reform the world. It is not the sleek and shiny people having more than their share of this world's goods who are the apostles of change.** The world changes and progresses because of those who are disaffected and dissatisfied and who are not prepared to tolerate the evils and injustice of things as they are or have them.

The basis of society is some measure of security and stability. Without security and stability there could be no society or social life, but how many to-day in our present day society have this security and stability ? You know that the millions have it not ; they have hardly food enough to keep body and soul together and it is a mockery to speak to them of security. So long as the masses do not share in this security you can have no stable society. And so you see in the history of the world revolution after revolution, not because any group or person is a lover of bloodshed and anarchy and disorder but because of this desire for greater security for larger number of persons. We shall have real security and stability in this world only when it has come to signify the well-being of the vast majority of the people, if not all, and not of small groups only. That time may not be near, but society is continually, sometimes it may be even a little blindly, struggling towards it. And the greater the struggle, the greater the urge to that end, the healthier and more vital the society. If this urge is wholly absent, society becomes static and lifeless and gradually withers away.

So long therefore as the world is not perfect, a healthy society must have the seeds of revolt in it. It must alternate between revolution and consolidation. It is the function of youth to supply this dynamic element in society ; to be the standard-bearers of revolt against all that is evil and to prevent older people from suppressing all social progress and movement by the mere weight of their inertia.

Many of you may wonder why I am addressing you in this somewhat academic vein. I do partly because I am no orator or platform hero and partly because I feel that most of our troubles are due to a false ideology. Foreign, political and

economic domination is bad enough, but the acceptance by us of the ideology of our rulers is to my mind even worse, for it stunts all efforts and sends us wandering aimlessly in blind alleys with no opening. I want, therefore, as far as I can, to get my own thinking straight and to remove the cobwebs from my brain, and I should like you also to do likewise. It will do us little good to repeat the political catch-words of the day without clear thinking on our part as to what we are aiming at and how we can attain our goal. I shall welcome your agreement with me but that would mean little if it has not been preceded by thought and conviction. I am much more concerned with finding in you a true appreciation of the present condition of the world, a passionate desire to better it, and an earnest spirit of enquiry as to what to do and how to do it. Reject utterly what I say to you if you think it is wrong. But reject also everything, however hallowed it may be by tradition and convention and religious sanction, if your reason tells you that it is wrong or unsuited to the present condition. For "religions", as the Chinese say, "are many, but reason is one."—*December 1928.*

II

A great French idealist, Charles Fourrier once said, "One could judge the degree of civilization of a country by the social and political position of its women." And if we are to judge of India to-day we shall have to judge of her by her women. The future that we build up will also be judged by the position of Indian women. I must confess to you that I am intensely dissatisfied with the lot of the Indian women to-day. We hear a good deal about Sita and Savitri. They are revered names in India and rightly so. But I have a feeling that these echoes from the past are raised chiefly to hide our present deficiences and to prevent us from attacking the root causes of women's degradation in India to-day.

It was laid down that while man was the bread-winner, woman's place was in the home and her ideal should be that of a devoted wife and nothing more. Her chief delight should be in skilfully rearing her children and serving her revered elders. May I say that I do not agree with this ideal of women's life or education? What does it signify? It means that woman has one profession and one only, that is the profession of marriage, and it is our chief business to train her for this profession. Even in this profession she is always to be the devoted helpmate, the follower and the obedient slave of her husband and others. I wonder if any of you here has read Ibsen's Doll's house; if so, you will perhaps appreciate the word "Doll" when I use it in this connection.

The future of India cannot consist of dolls and playthings and if you made half the population of a country mere plaything of the other half, an encumbrance on others, how will you ever make



MILITARY BROTHERHOOD

The splendid procession of Jawaharlal, the president-elect of the States Peoples' Conference, marching through the bazars of Ludhiana, on February 15, 1939, led by the enthusiastic Sikhs who, says Nehru, "were converted, by repression and persecution into a military brotherhood."



progress? Therefore I say that you must face the problem boldly and attack the roots of the evil. We have purdah and child-marriage and denial of rights to women in so many fields. **Go to any country and you will see bright-faced boys and girls playing and growing strong in mind and body. Here children of the same age are kept in purdah, locked up in cages almost and denied in a large measure all freedom.** They are married just when they should be growing physically and intellectually and are thus stunted and made miserable for life.—*March 1928.*

III

Is it any wonder that the youths of the world rebelled and cast out their old-time leaders on whom even terrible lesson of the war was lost, and who still went on intriguing in the old way, and prepared for yet another and a greater war? Youth set about organising itself and set out to find the ways and means of establishing an order of society which would put an end to the misery and conflicts of to-day.

And so the youth of the world probed deeper into the causes of present-day misery. They studied the economic and the social conditions of the people, and they saw that although science and the changes that science had brought had in a few generations covered the track of centuries, the minds of men still lagged behind and thought in terms of a dead past. **Science had made the world international and interdependent, but national rivalries continued and resulted in war. Science had vastly increased production and there was enough for all and to spare but poverty continued and the contrasts between luxury and misery were more marked than ever before.** But if mankind is foolish and errs, facts do not adapt themselves to errors and the world of our imagination conflicts with the world of reality and is it any wonder that chaos and misery result?

Facts are not to blame for this. The troubles and the difficulties lie rooted in things, in our misconception of them and our misinterpretation of them. Our elders fail frequently because they are rigid in their minds and unable to change their mental outlook or adapt themselves to changing facts. But youth is not hidebound. Youth can think and is not afraid of the consequences of thought. Do not imagine that thought is an easy matter or that its consequences are trivial. Youth is not or should not be afraid of the wrath of heavens or the terrors of hell. It is the most revolutionary thing on earth. And it is because youth dare think and dare act that it holds out the promise of taking out this country and this world of ours from the ruts and the mire in which they have sunk.

Are you, young men and women of Bengal, going to dare to think and dare to act? Are you prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder with the youth of the world, not only to free your

country from an insolent and alien rule but also to establish in this unhappy world of ours a better and a happier society ? That is, the problem before you and if you wish to face it sincerely and fearlessly, you will have to make up your mind to rid yourselves and your country of every obstacle in your path whether it is placed by our alien rulers or has the prestige of ancient custom.

You must have your ideal clear-cut before you. How else can you hope to build the great structure of your dream ? Can you build a palace on the foundations of a mud-hut, or a fine bridge with straw? With definite ideas of your goal you will gain clearness of purpose and effectiveness of action and each step that you take will carry you nearer to your heart's desire.

What shall this ideal be ? National independence and perfect freedom to develope on the lines of our own choosing is the essential requisite of all progress. Without it there can be no political, economic or social freedom. But national independence should not mean for us merely an addition to the warring groups of nations. It should be a step towards the creation of a world commonwealth of nations in which we can assist in the fullest measure to bring about co-operation and world harmony.

SECTION X

A Jump Across Europe

Free India may preferably take a jump across Europe, because European history is dyed in blood, and we need not learn the arts of diplomacy which alone it can teach us. The following few pithy quotations from Nehru sum up the sanguinary politics of Europe from Romans to the Nazis. It will be clear from pre-war references to France that France has lost her all in the gamble against Hitler.

I

Europe sat on giant Asia. In the north the Russian Empire sprawled across the whole continent. In the south England had firm hold over the biggest prize of all—India. In the west the Turkish Empire was going to pieces, and Turkey was referred to as the "Sick man of Europe". Persia, nominally independent, was dominated by England and Russia. The whole of south-eastern Asia—Burma, Indo-China, Malay, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, the Philippines, etc. was absorbed by Europe, with the exception of a bit of Siam. In the Far East, China was being nibbled at by all the European powers and concession after concession was forced out of her. Only Japan stood upright and faced Europe as an equal. She had come out of her seclusion and adjusted herself to the new conditions with remarkable rapidity.

II

ROMAN EMPIRE

But Roman history, especially the history of the Roman Republic, is dear to the European, as he considers the old Roman State to be a kind of ancestor of the modern European States, and to some extent this is true. And so English school-boys, whether they knew modern history or not, were made to learn Greek and Roman history. I well remember being made to read, in the original Latin, Julius Caesar's account of his campaign in Gaul. Caesar was not only a warrior but a graceful and effective writer also, and his De Bello Gallico is still read in thousands of school-rooms in Europe.

III

Let us, first of all, cast a look at the Roman Empire or Empires through the ages. Later perhaps one may try to fill in the picture a little.

The Empire begins with Augustus Caesar on the eve of the Christian era. For a little while the Emperors pay deference to the Senate, but almost the last traces of the Republic disappear soon enough, and the Emperor becomes all-powerful, a wholly autocratic monarch—indeed, almost a god. During his lifetime he is worshipped as semi-divine. After his death he becomes a full god. All the writers of the day endow most of the early Emperors with every virtue—specially Augustus. **They call it the Golden age, the Age of Augustus, when every virtue flourished and the good were rewarded and the wicked punished. That is the way writers have in despotic countries, where it is obvious that the praise of the ruler pays.** Some of the most famous of Latin authors—Virgil, Ovid, Horace—whose books we had to read at school, lived about this time. It is possible that after the civil wars and troubles which took place continually during the latter days of the Republic, it was a great relief to have a period of peace and respite when trade and some measure of civilization could flourish.

But what was the civilization? It was a rich men's civilization, and these rich were not even like the artistic and keen-witted rich of ancient Greece, but a rather commonplace and dull crowd, whose chief job was to enjoy themselves. From all over the world foods and articles of luxury came for them, and there was great magnificence and show. The tribe of such people is not extinct even yet. There was pomp and show and a succession of gorgeous processions and games in the circus and gladiators done to death. But behind this pomp was the misery of the masses. There was heavy taxation which fell on the common people chiefly, and the burden of work fell on the innumerable slaves. Even their doctoring and philosophizing and thinking the great ones of Rome left largely to Greek slaves. There was exceedingly little attempt to educate or to find out facts about the world of which they called themselves the masters.

Emperor followed emperor, and some were bad and some were very bad. And gradually the army became all-powerful and could make and unmake emperors. So it came about that there was bidding to gain the favour of the army and money was squeezed from the masses or from conquered territories to bribe the army. One of the great sources of revenue was the slave-trade, and there were regular organized slave-hunts by Roman armies in the East. Slave merchants accompanied the armies to buy up the slaves on the spot. The island of Delos, sacred to the old Greeks, became a great slave-market, where sometimes as many as 10,000 slaves were sold in a day.

In the great Colosseum of Rome, a popular emperor used to display as many as 1,200 gladiators at a time—slaves who were to die to provide sport for the emperor and his people.

Having lost the empire, Rome started carving out a new empire, but of a different kind. It was said that Peter, the disciple of Jesus, had come to Rome and become the first bishop there. This gave sanctity to the place in the eyes of many Christians and added special importance to the bishopric of Rome. The Bishop of Rome was, to begin with, not unlike other bishops, but he grew in importance after the Emperor went to Constantinople. There was no one to overshadow him then, and, as the successor to the chair of Peter, he came to be regarded as the chief of the bishops. Later he came to be called the Pope, an as you know the Popes exist to this day and are the heads of the Roman Catholic Church.

IV

REBELLIONS IN IRELAND

Rebellion followed rebellion in Ireland, and each was crushed with great cruelty. The Irish naturally hated their foreign rulers and oppressors, and rose in rebellion whenever they had the chance and even without it. " England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity" is an old saying, and both for political and religious reasons, Ireland often sided with England's enemies, like France and Spain. This enraged the English greatly and gave them a feeling of being stabbed in the back, and they retaliated with all manner of atrocities.

In their poverty the landlord-ridden and rack-rented Irish tenantry had made the potato their chief article of diet. They practically lived on potatoes and, like the Indian peasantry to-day, they had no reserves ; there was nothing to fall back upon. They lived on the verge of existence, and had no powers of resistance left. In 1846 the potato crop failed, and this resulted in a great famine. But despite the famine, the landlords turned out their tenantry for non-payment of rent. Large numbers of Irishmen left their homes for America and other countries, and Ireland became almost a depopulated land. Many of her fields were tilled no longer and became pasture-lands.

V

Rebellions are common enough occurrences in history, and Ireland especially has had her full share of them. Still, these preparations for an Ulster rebellion have a special interest for us, as the party at the back of it was the very party which prided itself on its constitutional and conservative character. It was the party which always talked of "law and order" and was in favour of heavy punishment for those who offended against this law and order. Yet prominent members of this party talked open treason and prepared for armed rebellion, and the rank and file helped with money. It is also interesting to note that this projected rebellion

was against the authority of Parliament, which was considering, and which later passed the Home Rule Bill. Thus the very foundations of democracy were attacked by it, and the old boast of the English people that they believed in the reign of law and in constitutional activity was set at nought.

VI

HOLY RUSSIA

Russia to-day is a Soviet country, and its government is run by representatives of the workers and peasants. In some ways it is the most advanced country in the world. Whatever actual conditions may be, the whole structure of government and society is based on the principle of social equality. That is so now. But some years ago, and right through the nineteenth century and before, Russia was the most backward and reactionary country in Europe. **The purest forms of autocracy and authoritarianism flourished there ; in spite of revolutions and changes in western Europe, the theory of the divine right of kings was still uphed by the Tsars.** Even the Church, which was the old orthodox Greek Church and not the Roman or Protestant, was perhaps even more authoritarian than elsewhere, and it was a prop and a tool of the Tsarist government. "Holy Russia" the country was called, and the Tsar was the "Little White Father" of everybody, and these legends were used by the Church and the authorities to befog people's minds and turn their attention from political and economic conditions. Holiness has kept strange company in the course of history !

VII

BIRTH OF NAZISM

Locarno was a triumph for British policy. It made Britain to some extent the arbiter in a dispute between France and Germany, and it brought Germany away from Russia. The chief importance of Locarno was, indeed, that it brought together the western democracy and ceased to be what it was, and commands no great respect. **Great powers are given to executive heads to do what they consider necessary without further reference to Parliament. Partly this is due to the critical times we live in, when swift action is necessary and representative assemblies cannot always act swiftly.** Germany has recently thrown her Parliament overboard completely and is now exhibiting the worst type of fascist rule. The United States of America have always given a great deal of power to their President, and this has rcently been increased. England and France are about the only two countries at present where Parliament still functions outwardly as in the old days; their fascist activites take place in their dependencies and colonies—in India we have British fascism at work, in Indo-China there is French fascism "pacifying" the country. But even in London and Paris, Parliaments are becoming hollow shells. Only last month a leading English liberal said :

" Our representative Parliament is rapidly becoming merely the machinery of registration for the dictates of a governing caucus elected by an imperfect and badly working electoral machine."

The British proposal for disarmament proceeded on the basis that it was not necessary for Britain to reduce her armaments ; it was for other nations to disarm. In regard to bombing from the air, everybody approved of its complete abolition, but Britain added a proviso : " except for police purposes in outlying areas", which meant a free hand to bomb in her Empire. This proviso was not acceptable to others, and so the whole proposal for abolition fell through.

VIII

FRENCH FANCIES

Crossing over to the continent of Europe, there is France, also an imperialist power with a great empire in Africa and Asia. In a military sense she is the most powerful nation in Europe. She has a mighty army, and she is the leader of a group of other nations : Poland, Czechosolovakia, Belgium, Rumania, Yugoslavia. And yet she fears the militant spirit of Germany, especially since the Hitler regime. Hitler has indeed succeeded in bringing about a remarkable change of feelings between capitalist France and Soviet Russia. A common enemy has made them quite friendly to each other. —*Glimpses of World History.*

SECTION XI

A Walk Over Asia

Free India must walk rather gently over Asia, because this unfortunate continent has been bled profusely by the iron heel of European imperialists. India has a great deal to learn from the co-victims of Asia rather than the co-victimizers of Europe. Jawaharlal's thoughts on Asia are useful signposts for the future reconstruction of Asiatic civilization—a process which is taking place now.

I

Asia sprawls right across the map like a big, lumbering giant. Europe is small. But, of course, this does not mean that Asia is great because of her size or that Europe is not worthy of much attention. Size is the poorest test of a man's or a country's greatness. We know well that Europe, though the smallest of continents, is to-day great. We know also that many of her countries have had brilliant periods of history. They have produced great men of science who have, by their discoveries and inventions, advanced human civilisation tremendously and made life easier for millions of men and women. They have had great writers and thinkers, and artists and musicians and men of action. It would be foolish not to recognize the greatness of Europe.

HEIRS OF GOOD AND BAD

It is indeed wonderful to think that we are the heirs of all these ages. But let us not become conceited, for if we are the heirs of the ages, we are the heirs of both the good and the bad. And there is a great deal of evil in our present inheritance in India, a great deal that has kept us down in the world, and reduced our noble country to great poverty, and made her a plaything in the hands of others. But have we not decided that this must no longer continue ?

A LOOK AT PALESTINE

Let us have just one brief look at Palestine before we finish for the day. Palestine is, of course, not in Europe, nor has it much historiscal importance. But many people are interested in its

ancient history because it is given in the Old Testament. It is the story of some tribes of the Jews, who lived in this little land, and of the troubles they had with their big neighbours on either side—Babylonia and Assyria and Egypt. If the story had not become part of the religion of the Jews and of Christianity, few persons would probably know of it.

ART IN CHINA

During the Hun period two other important events are worthy of note. The art of printing from wooden blocks was invented, but it was not much used for nearly 1,000 years. Even so China was 500 years ahead of Europe.

The second noteworthy fact was the introduction of the examination system for public officials. **Boys and girls do not love examinations, and I sympathise with them. But this Chinese system of appointing public officials was a remarkable thing in those days. In other countries till recently, officials were appointed by favouritism chiefly, or out of a special class or caste. In China any one passing the examination could be appointed.** This was not an ideal system, as a person may pass an examination in the Confucian classics and yet may not be a very good public official. But the system was a vast improvement over favouritism and the like, and for 2,000 years it lasted in China. It was only recently that it was ended.

INDIA IN PURDAH

Fortunately, India is rapidly tearing the Purdah away. Even Muslim society has largely rid itself of this terrible burden. In Turkey, Kamal Pasha has put an end to it completely, and in Egypt it is going fast.

PULSE OF CIVILIZATION

So we see a great change coming over Asia. While the old civilizations continue and the fine arts flourish and there are refinements in luxury, the pulse of civilization weakens, and the breath of life seems to grow less and less. For long they are to continue. There is no definite break or end to them, except in Arabia and Central Asia when the Mongols come. **In China and India there is a slow fading off, till the old civilization becomes like a painted picture, beautiful to look at from a distance, but lifeless ; and if you come near it, you see that the white ants have been at it.**

Civilizations, like empires, fall, not so much because of the strength of the enemy outside, as through the weakness and decay within. Rome fell not because of the barbarians ; they merely knocked down something that was already dead. The heart of Rome had ceased beating when the arms and legs were cut off. We see something of this process in India and China and in the case of the Arabs. The collapse of Arabian civilization was sudden, even as their rise had been. In India and China the process is long-drawn-out and it is not easy to spot it.

Many of the Saracens or Arabs left Spain and went to Africa. Near Granada, overlooking the city, there is a spot which still bears the name of "El ultimo sospiro del moro", the last sign of the Moor.

THE DARK CHAPTER

But a large number of Arabs remained in Spain. The treatment of these Arabs is a very dark chapter in the history of Spain. There was cruelty and massacre, and the promises made to them about toleration were forgotten. About this time the Inquisition, that terrible weapon which the Roman Church forged to crush all who did not bow down to it, was established in Spain. Jews, who had prospered under the Saracens, were now forced to change their religion and many were burnt to death. Women and children were not spared. "The Infidels" (that is the Saracens), so says a historian, "were ordered to abandon their picturesque costume, and to assume the hat and breeches of their conquerors, to renounce their language, their customs and ceremonies, even their very names, and to speak Spanish, behave Spanishly, and re-name "themselves Spaniards." Of course there were risings and revolts against these barbarities. But they were mercilessly crushed.

The Spanish Christians seem to have been very much against washing and bathing. Perhaps they objected to these simply because the Spanish Arabs were very fond of them and had erected great public baths all over the place. The Christians even went so far as to issue orders "for the reformation of the Moriscos" or Moors or Arabs, that "neither themselves, their women, nor any other persons, should be permitted to wash or bathe themselves either at home or elsewhere, and that all their bathing-houses should be pulled down and destroyed."

Apart from the sin of washing, another great charge brought against the "Moriscos' was that they were tolerant in religion. It is extraordinary to read of this, and yet this was one of the main charges in an account of the "Apostacies and Treasons of the Moriscos" drawn up by the Archbishop of Valencia in 1602, when he was recommending the expulsion of Saracens from Spain. Referring to this, he says, that they (the Moriscos) commended nothing so much as that liberty of conscience in all matters of religion, which the Turks, and all other Mohammadans, suffer their subjects to enjoy." What a great compliment was thus paid unwittingly to the Saracens in Spain, and how different and intolerant was the outlook of the Spanish Christians !

Millions of Saracens were driven out forcibly from Spain, mostly into Africa, some to France. But you must remember that the Arabs had been in Spain for seven hundred years ; and during this long period they had become to a large extent merged in the people of Spain. Originally Arabs, they had gradually become more and more Spanish. Probably the Spanish Arabs of later years were quite different from the Arabs of Baghdad. Even to-day the Spanish race has much of Arab blood in its veins.

THE SCOURGE OF GOD

To Persian and Arab historians, Chengiz is a monster—"Scourge of God" as he is called. He is painted as a very cruel person. He was very cruel, no doubt, but he was not very different from many of the rulers of his day. In India the Afghan kings were much the same, on a smaller scale. When Ghazni was captured by the Afghans in 1150, they revenged themselves for an old blood-feud by sacking and burning the city. For seven days "plunder, devastation and slaughter were continuous. Every man that was found was slain, and all the women and children were made prisoners. All the palaces and edifices of the Mahmudi Kings (that is, descendants of Sultan Mahmud), which had no equals in the world, were destroyed." **This was the behaviour of Muslims towards brother-Muslims. There was nothing to choose in quality between this and what took place in India under the Afghan kings and Chengiz's career of destruction in Central Asia and Persia.** Chengiz was particularly angry with Khwarazm because his ambassador had been killed by the Shah. For him it was a kind of blood-feud. Elsewhere there was great destruction done by Chengiz. But perhaps it was not so great as in Central Asia.

There was another motive behind Chengiz's destruction of towns. He had the spirit of a nomad, and he hated towns and cities. He liked living in the steppes or great plains. At one time Chengiz considered the desirability of destroying all the cities in China, but fortunately he desisted: His idea was to combine civilization with a nomadic life. But this was not, and is not possible.

Chengiz Khan and his Mongols were cruel and destructive, but they were like others of their time. But Timur was much worse. He stands apart for wanton and fiendish cruelty. In one place, it is said, he erected a tower of 2,000 live men and covered them up with brick and mortar!

The wealth of India attracted this savage. He had some difficulty in inducing his generals and nobles to agree to his proposal to invade. There was a great council in Samarkand and the nobles objected to going to India because of the great heat there. Ultimately Timur promised that he would not stay in India. He would just plunder and destroy and return. He kept his word.

How dull is the bald outline of history, and how thin and lifeless are the figures that pass through it! Yet sometimes, when one reads a book written in the olden time, life seems to pour into the dead past, and the stage seems to come quite near to us, and living and loving and hating human beings move on it. I have been reading about a charming lady of old Japan, the Lady Murasaki, who lived many hundreds of years ago—long before the civil wars of which I have written in this letter. She has written a long account of her life and the Emperor's Court in

Japan, and as I read extracts from this, with its delightful touches, and intimacies, and courtly futilities, the Lady Murasaki became very real to me, and a vivid picture arose of the limited but artistic world of the Court of old Japan. —January 16, 1933.

WINDOW TO EUROPE

Western Asia, I have said above, is Asia's window to Europe. It is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea, which has divided and linked together Asia and Europe and Africa. This link has been a powerful one in the past, and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean have had much in common. European civilization begins in the Mediterranean areas. Old Greece or Helles had her colonies dotted about the seaboard of the three continents; the Roman Empire spread around it; Christianity found its early home round the Mediterranean; the Arabs took their culture from the eastern coast to Sicily, and right across the southern African coasts to Spain in the west, and remained there for 700 years.

Let us now go to Egypt and follow another struggle between a growing nationalism and an imperialist Power. The Power there, as in India, is Britain. Egypt is, in many ways, very different from India, and Britain has been there for a comparatively short period, and yet there are numerous parallels and common features in the two countries. The nationalist movements of India and Egypt have adopted different methods, but, fundamentally, the urge to national freedom is the same and the objective is the same. And the way imperialism functions in its efforts to suppress these nationalist movements is also much the same. So each of us can learn much from the other's experiences. For us in India there is an especial lesson, for we can see, in the example of Egypt, what British grants of "freedom" amount to, and what they lead to.

SYRIAN STRUGGLE

It is interesting to notice that while the French tried to give a religious colouring to the rising and tried to use the Christians against the Druzes, the Syrians made it quite clear that they fought for national freedom, and not for a religious objective. Right at the beginning of the insurrection a provisional government was established in the Druze country, and this government issued a proclamation appealing to the people to join the war of independence and win "the complete independence of Syria, one and indivisible......the free election of a Constituent Assembly to draft the constitution, the withdrawal of the foreign army of occupation, and the creation of a national army to guarantee security and apply the principles of the French Revolution and the Rights of Man." **So the French Government and the French army tried to put down a people who were standing up for the principles of the French Revolution and the rights which it had proclaimed!**

THE STORY OF PALESTINE

The story of Palestine ever since has been one of conflict between Arabs and Jews, with the British Government siding with one or the other as occasion demanded, but generally supporting the Jews. The country has been treated as a British colony with no self-government. The Arabs, supported by the Christians and other non-Jewish peoples, have demanded self-determination and complete freedom. They have taken strong objection to the mandate and to fresh immigrants on the ground that there is no room for more. As Jewish immigrants have poured in, their fear and anger have increased. They (the Arabs) have declared "Zionism had been an accomplice cf British imperialism ; responsible Zionist leaders had constantly urged what an advantage a strong Jewish National Home would be to the English in guarding the road to India, just because it was a counteracting force to Arab national aspirations." How India crops up in odd places !

It is a tragedy that two oppressed peoples—the Arabs and the Jews—should come into conflict with each other. **Every one must have sympathy for the Jews in the terrible trials they are passing through in Europe, where vast numbers of them have become homeless wanderers, unwanted in any country.** One can understand them being attracted to Palestine. And it is a fact that the Jewish immigrants there have improved the country, introduced industries, and raised standards of living. But we must remember that Palestine is essentially an Arab country, and must remain so, and the Arabs must not be crushed and suppressed in their own home-lands. The two peoples could well co-operate together in a free Palestine, without encroaching on each other's legitimate interests and help in building up a progressive country.

Unfortunately Palestine, being on the sea and air route to India and the East, is a vital factor in the British imperial scheme, and Jews and Arabs have both been exploited to further this scheme. The future is uncertain. The old scheme of partition is likely to fall through and a larger Arab federation with a Jewish autonomous enclave is in the air. It is certain, however, that Arab nationalism in Palestine will not be crushed, and the future of the country can only be built up on the stable foundation of Arab-Jew co-operation and the elimination of imperialism.

BIRTHPLACE OF ISLAM

I have been writing to you about the Arab countries, but I have not so far dealt with the fountain-head of the Arabian language and culture and the birthplace of Islam, Arabia itself. The source of Arab civilization though it was, it has remained backward

and medieval, and has been far outstripped, according to the tests of our modern civilization, by the neighbouring Arab countries—Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Iraq. Arabia is an enormous country ; in size and area it is about two-thirds as big as India. And yet the population of the whole country is estimated to be 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 only—that is, about one-seventieth or one-eigthieth of the population of India. It is obvious from this that it is very thinly populated ; most of it is indeed a desert, and it was because of this that it escaped the attentions of greedy adventurers in the past, and remained a relic of medievalism, without railways or telegraphs or telephones or the like, in the midst of a changing world. It was largely inhabited by wandering nomad tribes—the Bedouins they are called—and they travelled across the desert sands on their swift camels, the "ships of the desert," and on the backs of their beautiful Arab horses, known the world over. They lived a patriarchal life which had changed little in 1000 years. The World War changed all this, as it changed many other things.

WAVES OF NATIONALISM

We have now finished our survey of the Arab nations. You will have noticed how all of them, in common with India and other Eastern countries, were powerfully moved by waves of nationalism after the World War. It was like an electric current passing through them all at the same time. Another remarkable feature was the similarity of methods adopted. There were insurrections and violent rebellions in many of these countries, but gradually they came to rely more and more on a policy of non-co-operation and boycott. There is no doubt that the fashion in this new method of resistance was set by India in 1920, when the Congress followed Mahatma Gandhi's lead. The idea of non-co-operation and the boycott of legislatures has spread from India to other countries of the East, and become one of the well-recognized and frequently practised methods of the struggle for national freedom.

A HOUSE WITHOUT DOOR

One of the reasons for Afghanistan's dependence on the British in India was the position of the country. You will see in the map that it is cut off from the sea by Baluchistan. It was thus like a house with no means of reaching the highway except through someone else's grounds, and this is a troublesome affair. Its easiest way of communicating with the outside world was through India. There were no proper communications in those days in the Russian territory to the north of Afghanistan. I believe that the Soviet Government has recently developed these communications, both by building railways and encouraging air and motor services. India thus being Afghanistan's window to the world, the British Government could take advantage of this fact by exerting pressure in many ways. This difficulty of Afghanistan's access to the sea is still one of the major problems confronting the country.

CHINA AND RUSSIA

Two parts of Asia remain to be considered, two huge areas, the Chinese areas and the Soviet areas in the north. We must come back to them some time later.

Relations between the Nanking Government and Soviet Russia were broken off in December 1927, and, under the patronage of the imperialist powers, Nanking adopted an aggressive anti-Soviet policy. This would have led to War in 1927 but for the persistent refusal of Russia to go to war. In 1929 the Chinese Government again became aggressive, this time in Manchuria. The Soviet consulate was raided and the Russian officials of the Chinese Eastern Railway were dismissed This railway was largely Russian property, and the Soviet Government immediately took action against the Chinese. For a few months a kind of war existed, and then the Chinese Government agreed to Soviet demand to restore the old arrangement.

JAPAN TAKES A RISK

While the League was doing its best to avoid a decision, Japan took a new step. On New Year's Day 1933 a Japanese army suddenly appeared in China proper and attacked the town of Shanhaik-wan, which stands on the Chinese side of the Great Wall. There was shelling from big guns and destroyers, and bombing from aeroplanes ; it was a thoroughly up-to-date attack, and Shenhaik-wan was reduced t, a "smoking ruin," and a large number of its civilian inhabitants lay dead and dying. And then the Japanese army marched on into the Chinese province of Jehol and approaching Peiping. The excuse was that the "bandits" used to make Jehol their headquarters for attacking Manchukuo, and that anyway Jehol was part of Manchukuo.

—*Glimpses of World History.*

II

THE CENTURY OF ASIA

If the next century is going to be the century of America, it is also going to be the century of Asia, a rejuvenated Asia deriving strength from its ancient cultures and yet vital with the youthful spirit of modern science. Most of us are too apt to think of Asia as backward and decadent because for nearly two hundred years it has been dominated by Europe and has suffered all the ills, material and spiritual, which subjection inevitably brings in its train. We forget the long past of Asia when politically, economically, and culturally it played a dominant role. In this long perspective the past two hundred years are just a brief period that is ending, and Asia will surely emerge with new strength and vitality as it has done so often in the past. One of the amazing phenomena of history is the way India and China have repeatedly revived after periods of decay, and how both of them have preserved the continuity of their cultural traditions through thousands of years. They have obviously had tremendous reserves of strength to draw

upon. **India was old when the civilization of Greece followed so brilliantly. Between the two there was intimate contact and much in common, and India is said to have influenced Greece far more than Greece did India.** That Grecian civilization, for all its brilliance, passed away soon, leaving a great heritage, but India carried on and her culture flowered again and again. India, like China, had more staying power.

Asia is no suppliant for the favour of others, but claims perfect equality in everything and is confident of holding her own in the modern world in comradeship with others. The recent visit of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang to India was not only of historic significance but has given us a glimpse of the future when India and China will co-operate for their own and the world's good. The Generalissimo pointed out a remarkable fact: that India and China, with a common land frontier of 3,000 kilometers, had lived at peace with each other for a thousand years, neither country playing the role of aggressor, but both having intimate cultural and commercial contacts throughout these ages. That in itself shows the peaceful character of these two great civilizations.

Keeping this background in mind, it will be evident how unreal and fantastic is the conception of India as a kind of colonial appendage or offshoot of Britain, growing slowly to nationhood and freedom as the British dominons have done. **India is a mother country, which has influenced in the past vast sections of the human race in Asia. She still retains that storehouse of cultural vitality that has given her strength in the past and at the same time has the natural resources, the scientific, technical, industrial, and financial capacity to make her a great nation in the modern sense of the word** But she cannot grow because of the shackles that tie her down, nor can she play her part, as she should, in the war crisis to-day. That part can be a great one not only because of the manpower at India's disposal but because, given a chance, she can rapidly become a great industrial nation.

—*Day of Reckoning.*

III
A CHINESE COMES TO INDIA

President Tai Chi Tao is due to arrive in Calcutta by air from Rangoon on or about November 3, and he intends to spend about six weeks in India. We can assure him on behalf of the Indian people of a very warm welcome for many reasons. He comes as a representative of a great people and of a country struggling with amazing heroism for her freedom. That in itself would make him welcome here. He comes as an eminent scholar, deeply interested in the cultural contacts between India and China during the past ages. We understand that he is particularly desirous of visiting the historical places connected with the Buddhist faith in India as well as other cultural centres of this country. He comes also on a mission of good-will to this country, and as a symbol of the growing friendship between India and China.

The friendship is very precious to us, not only because of the thousands of golden links that have bound us in the past but because of the future that beckons to both of us. **The present is full of difficulty for all of us and none may avoid this sorrow and travail. But the future that is taking shape in death and disaster will be a future in which India and China are bound to play a great part.** This will be so not just because of the huge collections of human beings which inhabit these two countries, amounting to two-fifths or possibly nearly half of the entire population of the world. There is something much more than the weight of numbers involved in this, although numbers may not be ignored.

India and China have represented throughout the ages the distinct, and deep-rooted civilisations and cultures, each very different from the other and yet with numerous common features. Like all ancient countries, they have gathere pround them all manner of debris in the form of old custom and tradition which hinder growth, but underneath this mess of useless material there lies the pure gold that has kept them going for these ages. Not all the degradation and misfortunes that have befallen, both India and China have melted this golden love which made them great in the past and which even to-day gives stature to them.

For many years now, and more especially for the last three years and more, China has been going through the ordeal of fire. How can we measure the immeasurable suffering of the Chinese people, invaded and attacked by an Imperialist aggressor, bombed in their cities night after night and made to face all the horrors of modern war by a first-rate power. **London has suffered greatly from bombing during the last two or three months. But what of Chungking that has had to face this bombing for years now, and yet lives ? We cannot measure this suffering nor can we measure the determination of epic courage which has faced these disasters and sufferings unmoved and unbent.** In the magnificent story of the Chinese people from the dawn of history to this day there are many glorious periods and fine deeds. But surely the past three years will stand out even in that great record. These years have been years of swift transition from the past to the present and preparation for the future that is to come. The dross and debris are being burned away in the fire of a national suffering and the pure metal comes out. We, in India, have had our own share of trials and tribulations and are likely to have much more of it in the near future. So nations who are slothful and who have sunk into subjection are made again. So China and India are being rejuvenated.

Both of them have a great part to play in the future ; so let both hold together and learn from each other. We welcome again President Tai Chi Tao to this ancient land and trust that his visit will bear rich fruit in bringing the two peoples nearer to each other.

—November 1940.

IV

MIRROR OF IMPERIALISM

Perhaps nothing is so surprising in India to-day as this anxious interest in foreign affairs and the realisation that her own struggle for freedom is a part of the world struggle. And this interest is by no means confined to the intelligentia, but goes deep down to the worker, the petty shopkeeper and even to a small extent to the peasant. The invasion of Manchuria by Japan caused a wave of sympathy for China, and Japan, which had so far been popular with Indians began to be disliked. The rape of Abysinia by Italy was deeply felt and resented. The tragic events of Central Europe produced profound impression. But most of all India felt, almost as a personal sorrow, the revolt against the Republic of Spain and the invasion of China, with all their attendant horrors. Thousands of demonstrations were held in favour of Spain and China and out of our poverty we extended our helping hand to them in the shape of food and medical missions.

This reaction in India was not due primarily to humanitarian reasons, but to growing realisation of the significance of the conflicts in the world, and to an intelligent self-interest. **We saw in Fascism the mirror of the Imperialism from which we had suffered, and in the growth of Fascism we saw defeat for freedom and democracy, for which we struggled with our long experience of British Imperialism, we distrusted the assurance, so often given, of British support of collective security of League of Nations.**

Because of this we followed, perhaps with greater clarity than elsewhere, the development of British foreign policy towards co-operation with the Fascist powers, and our opposition to British Imperialism became a part of our opposition to all Imperialism and Fascism.

To this British foreign policy we were entirely opposed and yet as parts of the empire, we were bound by it. By resolution, and public declaration we disassociated ourselves from it, and endeavoured in such ways as were open to us to develop our foreign policy. **The medical mission that we sent to China or the foodstuffs that went from India to Spain were our methods of asserting our foreign policy and dissociating ourselves from that of Britain.** We laid down further our line of action in the event of World War breaking out. It was for the people of India to determine whether India would join a war or not, and any decision imposed upon us by Britain would be resisted. Nor were we prepared on any account to permit our resources to be exploited for an imperialist war.

The Indian nationalist movement has stood for many years for full independence and severance of our tie with the British Empire. Recent events in Europe have made this an urgent necessity for us. We must control our foreign policy, our finance

and our defences, and have perfect freedom to develop our own contacts with other countries.

Foreign affairs are thus casting their long shadow over the Indian national struggle, and the growing consciousness of this makes India look at the world with an ever-increasing interest. She thinks of the day, which may not be long distant when she will be a free country, and already she prepares mentally for that change. The British Empire is fading away before our eyes, and everyone knows that it cannot hold India in subjection for long. Responsible statesmen in England no doubt realise this, and yet it is exceedingly difficult for them to give up the assumptions and mental atmosphere of a century ago, and adapt themselves to what logic tells them is the inevitable end.

That is the dilemma of Britain to-day. There are only two courses open to her in regard to India. The natural and the logical course is to recognize what must be and adapt herself gracefully to it. This means the immediate recognition of India's right to self-determination on the basis of complete freedom, and the drawing up of India's constitution by a constituent assembly consisting of her elected representatives. Such a decision and immediate steps taken to implement it, would immediately bring about a psychological change, and the old atmosphere of conflict and hostility would give place to a spirit of co-operation. India, achieving her independence in this way would not look unfavourably to certain privileges in the matter of trade and commerce being granted to Britain. She might even accept certain financial burdens which in justice should not fall on her. We would be willing to pay this price for freedom with pleasure, for the cost of conflict will in any event be much greater. India would also be a friend and colleague in world affairs, provided Britain stood for freedom and democracy.

SECTION XII

The Eagle of Steel

The capitalists, says Jawaharlal, are kings of iron and oil and silver and gold. And the eagle of steel still casts its shadows across the globe, and India will have sooner or later to face its claws. In this section you find a set of quotations from Jawaharlal which indicate the trends of capitalism in the world. The ideas of Nehru are pithy and worthy of a deep consideration.

—*September, 19, 1932.*

I

Kings have almost disappeared to-day, and such as remain are relics of a past age, with little or no power. We can now ignore them. But other and more dangerous people have taken their place, and the eagle is still a fitting emblem for these latter day imperialists and kings of iron and oil and silver and gold.

II

THE MECHANICAL AGE

The industrial revolution brought the big machine to the world. It ushered in the Machine Age or the Mechanical Age. Of course, there had been machines before, but none had been so big as the new machine. What is a machine? It is a big tool to help man to do his work. **Man has been called a tool-making animal, and from his earliest days he has made tools and tried to better them. His supermacy over the other animals, many of them more powerful than he was, was established because of his tools. The tool was an extension of his hand; or you may call it a third hand. The machine was the extension of the tool.** The tool and the machine raised man above the brute creation. They freed human society from the bondage of Nature. With the help of the tool and the machine, man found it easier to produce things, he produced more, and yet had more leisure. And this resulted in the progress of the arts of civilization, and of thought and science.

But the big machine and all its allies have not been unmixed blessings. If it has encouraged the growth of civilization,

it has also encouraged the growth of barbarism by producing terrible weapons of warfare and destruction. If it has produced abundance, this abundance has not been mainly for the masses, but chiefly for the limited few. It has made the difference between the luxury of the very rich and the poverty of the poor even greater than it was in the past. Instead of being the tool and servant of man, it has presumed to become his master. On the one side, it has taught certain virtues—co-operation, organisation, punctuality; on the other, it has made life itself a dull routine for millions, a mechanical burden with little of joy or freedom in it.

But why should we blame the poor machine for the ills that have followed from it? The fault lies with man, who has misused it, and with society, which has not profited by it fully. **It seems to be unthinkable that the world, or any country, can go back to the old days before the Industrial Revolution, and it hardly seems desirable or wise that, in order to get rid of some evils, we should throw away the numerous good things that industrialism has brought us.** And, in any event, the machine has come and is going to stay. Therefore the problem for us is to retain the good things of industrialism and to get rid of the evil that attaches to it. We must profit by the wealth it produces, but see to it that the wealth is evenly distributed among those who produce it.

III

MACHINE-WRECKING

Machine-wrecking has quite a long history in Europe, going back to the sixteenth century, when a simple machine loom was invented in Germany. In an old book written by an Italian priest in 1579 it is stated about this loom that the **Town Council of Danzig " being afraid that the invention might throw a large number of the workmen on the streets, had the machine destroyed, and the inventor secretly strangled or drowned!"**

In spite of this summary way of dealing with the inventor, this machine appeared again in the seventeenth century, and there were riots all over Europe because of it. Laws were passed in many places against its use, and it was even publicly burned in the market-place. It is possible that if this machine had come into use when it was first invented, other inventions would have followed, and the machine age would have come sooner than it did. But the mere fact that it was not used shows that conditions were not then ripe for it. When these conditions were ripe, then machinery established itself in spite of numerous riots in England. It was natural for the workers to feel resentment at the machine. Gradually they came to learn that the fault did not lie with the machine.

IV

FOOD PRODUCTION

New and quicker ways of producing food and other things have been discovered in history from time to time. And you would, of course, think that if better methods were used for production, much more would be produced, and the world would be richer and every one would have more. You would be partly right and partly wrong. **Better methods of production have certainly made the world richer. But which part of the world? It is obvious enough that there is great poverty and misery still in our country, of course, but even in a rich country like England this is so.** Why ? Where do the riches go to ? It is a strange thing that in spite of more and more wealth being produced, the poor have remained poor. They have made some little progress in certain countries, but it is very little compared to the new wealth produced. We can easily see, however, to whom this wealth largely goes. It goes to those who usually being the managers or organizers, see to it that they get the lion's share of everything good. And, stranger still such classes have grown up in society of people who do not even pretend to do any work and yet who take this lion's share of the work of others ! And—would you believe it ? these classes are honoured ; and some foolish people imagine that it is degrading to have to work for one's living ! Such is the topsy-turvy condition of our world. Is it surprising that the peasant in his field and the worker in the factory are poor, although they produce the food and wealth of the world ? **We talk of freedom for our country, but what will any freedom be worth unless it puts an end to this topsy-turvydom, and gives to the man who does the work the fruits of his toil ?** Big, fat books have been written on politics and the art of Government on economics and how the nation's wealth should be distributed. Learned professors lecture on these subjects. But, while people talk and discuss, those who work suffer. Two hundred years ago a famous Frenchman, Voltaire, said of politicians and the like that " they have discovered in their fine politics the art of causing those to die of hunger who, cultivating the earth, give the means of life to others. "

V

MAN HUNTS

As the Red Indians would not work in the plantations, and labour was badly needed, the unhappy people of Africa were captured in horrible man-hunts and sent across the seas in a manner the cruelty of which is almost beyond belief. These African Negroes were taken to the Southern States—Virginia, Carolina and Georgia—and made to work in gangs on the large plantations, chiefly of tobacco.

The Declaration of Independence of 1776 stated that "all men are born equal". This is hardly a correct statement, if analysed, for some are weak and some are strong, some are more intelligent and capable than others. But the idea behind the statement is clear enough and praiseworthy. The colonists wanted to get rid of the feudal inequalities of Europe. That in itself was a very great advance. Probably many of the framers of the Declaration of Independence were influenced by the philosophers and thinkers of eighteenth-century France, from Voltaire and Rousseau onwards.

VI

MONEY HUNTS

Money-lending is a profitable business; and the more England adopted this profession the richer she grew. A huge leisured class grew up, which lived entirely on the profits and dividends from this business. They did not have to work to produce anything. They held shares in some railway company or tea plantation or other concern, and dividends came to them regularly. English colonies of these leisured people grew up in many desirable places, like the French Riviera, Italy, and Switzerland; but of course most of them remained in England.

VII

THE SLAVE CITY

Liverpool became a great city on the foundation of the slave trade. As early as 1713, in the Peace of Utrecht, England extorted from Spain the privilege of carrying slaves between Africa and Spanish America. Even before this England had supplied slaves to the English territories in America. An attempt was thus made in the eighteenth century to make the Africa-America slave trade an English monopoly. In 1730 Liverpool had fifteen ships engaged in this trade. The number went on growing, till in 1792 there were 132 ships employed by Liverpool in the slave trade. The early days of the Industrial Revolution led to a great advance in cotton-spinning in Lancashire in England, and this led to a demand for more slaves in the United States. For the cotton used by the Lancashire mills came from the great cotton plantations of the Southern States. These cotton plantations were rapidly extended, more slaves were brought over from Africa, and every effort was made to breed Negroes! In 1790 there were 697,000 slaves in the United States; in 1861 the number ose to 4,000,000.

VIII

ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM

Economic imperialism is the least troublesome form of domination for the dominating power. It does not give rise to so much resentment as political domination because many

people do not notice it. But when the pinch is felt, people begin to appreciate its workings and resent it. In Latin American now there is not much love for the United States, and many efforts have been made to create a bloc of Latin-American nations to oppose the dominance of North America. They are not likely to do much till they get off North America. They are not likely to do much till they get over their habit of frequent palace revolutions and mutual quarrels.

IX

REAL HISTORY

Real history should deal, not with a few individuals here and there, but with the people who make up a nation, who work and by their labour produce the necessaries and luxuries of life, and who in a thousand different ways act and react on each other. Such a history of man would really be a fascinating story. **It would be the story of man's struggle through the ages against Nature and the elements against wild beasts and the jungle and, last and most difficult of all, against some of his own kind who have tried to keep him down and to exploit him for their own benefit.** It is the story of man's struggle for a living. And because, in order to live, certain things, like food and shelter and cloth in cold climates, are necessary, those who have controlled these necessities have lorded it over man. The rulers and the bosses have had authority because they owned or controlled some essentials of livelihood, and this control gave them the power to starve people into submission. And so we see the strange sight of large masses being exploited by the comparatively few; of some who earn without working at all, and of vast numbers who work but earn very little.

X

How vicious and immoral nations were when dealing with each other! They considered it a sign of their independence to adopt an offensive and intolerant attitude towards others, wherever they could afford to do this thing, and a dog-in-the-manger policy. There was no authority to tell them to behave, for were they not independent, and would not interference be resented? The only check on their behaviour was fear of consequences. So the strong were respected to some extent and the weak were bullied.

This national rivalry was really an inevitable result of the growth of capitalistic industry. We have seen how an ever-growing demand for markets and raw materials made the capitalist Powers race round the world for empire. They rushed about in Asia and Africa seizing as much territory as possible in order to exploit it. Having covered the world, there was nowhere else to spread, so the imperialist Powers began glaring at each other and coveting each other's possessions. There were frequent clashes between these great Powers in Asia and Africa and Europe, and angry passions flared up, and war seemed to hang in the balance. Some of the Powers were better off than the others, and England,

with her industrial lead and vast empire, seemed to be the most fortunate of all. But even England was not satisfied, for the more one has the more one wants. Vast schemes for the extensions of her empire floated in the brains of her "empire-builders," schemes of an African empire extending without break from north to south, from Cairo to the Cape. England was also worried by the competition of Germany and the United States in industry. These countries were making manufactured goods cheaper than England and were thus stealing England's markets from her.

The existence of a large dispossessed class of landless labourers made the starting of big factories easy. Such factories can only be run if there are enough people (indeed more than enough) who are prepared to work for wages. The man who has got a bit of land does not want to leave it. Large numbers of landless unemployed are therefore necessary for the factory system, and the more there are, the easier it is for the factory-owners to beat down wages and control them.

XI

INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION

Of all the great industrial countries America was hit last by the depression, but the reaction there was greater than elsewhere. The people of America were not used to long-continuing trade depression and hardship. Proud, purse-proud America was stunned by the blow, and as the number of unemployed increased million, after million, and hunger and slow starvation became a common sight, the morale of the nation began to crack up. Confidence on banks and investments was shaken, and money was drawn out from banks and hoarded. **Banks exist on the basis of confidence and credit ; if this confidence goes, so does the bank.** There were thousands of bank failures in the United States, and each failure added to the crisis and generally made matters worse.

Large numbers of unemployed men and women took to vagrancy and wandered about from town to town in search of employment. They walked along the high roads, asking passing motorists to give them a lift, or often hung on to the foot boards of slow goods-trains. Even more striking were the numbers of young boys and girls, and even children, wandering alone or in small groups up and down the huge country. Meanwhile, grown-up and able-bodied men sat idle, waiting and hoping for work, and model factories were closed down. Yet such is the nature of capitalism that, at this very time, dark and filthy sweat-shops grew up, and children of twelve and sixteen were made to work there as much as ten or twelve hours a day for a small wage. Some employers took advantage of the tremendous pressure of employment on these young boys and girls and made them work hard and long in their mills and factories. The depression thus brought back child labour to America, and labour laws prohibiting this as well as other abuses were openly flouted.

XII

OVER-PRODUCTION

Over-production, it is said, is the trouble. This is a misleading word, for there can be no over-production when millions suffer from lack of even absolutely necessary articles. Hundreds of millions of people in India have not got enough clothes to wear, and yet one hears of large stocks in Indian cloth mills and khadi stores, and of "over-production" of cloth. The real explanation is that the people are much too poor to buy the cloth, not that they do not require it. It is lack of money among the masses. This lack of money does not mean that money has disappeared from the world. It means that the distribution of money among the world's people has changed and is continually changing, that is, there is inequality in the distribution of wealth. On the one side there is an excess of wealth and the owners of it do not know how to utilize all of it; they merely save it up and swell up their bank accounts. This money is not used for buying commodities in the market. On the other side, there is a greater lack of wealth, and even the commodities that are required cannot be bought, for want of money.

XIII

A TOUGH FIGHTER

But England was a tough fighter, and had still a dependent and helpless empire to draw upon, She recovered from the crisis largely by drawing out gold from India and Egypt, two countries under her full control. Her industries benefited by the fall of the pound, as she could sell her goods cheaper abroad. It was a remarkable recovery.

Thus the City of London became the central market for bills of exchange, securities, and gold. It became the financial capital of the world, and every government or banker who wanted to settle an account abroad and could not find the means to do so in his own country came to London, where he found every kind of commercial and financial paper as well as gold. The pound sterling became the solid symbol of commerce. If Denmark or Sweden wanted to buy something from South America, the contract was made out in pounds sterling although the goods never came to London.

XIV

TANGLED WEB

What a long story of financial rivalry and manoeuvring I have told you, and I am afraid you will not thank me for it: It is such a tangled web of international intrigue that it is no easy matter to unravel it or, having entered it, to get out of it. I have only tried to give you the barest glimpse of what appears more or less on the surface, and much of what happens never sees the surface or the light of day.

XV

I shall take you away now from the long and depressing account of the trade slump and crisis, and tell you of two outstanding events of recent times. These two events are : the revolution in Spain and the triumph of the Nazis in Germany.

Since then the war has gone on, Franco being aided to a very great extent by Italy and Germany, who sent large armies, aeroplanes and aviators and ammunition. The Republic also had foreign volunteers to help it, but at the same time it built up a magnificent new Spanish army. The British and French Governments have stated that they follow a policy of non-intervention, but this in effect has helped Franco.

XVI

SWIFT ACTION

Roosevelt took swift and decisive action. He asked the American Congress for powers to deal with banks, industry, and agriculture, and the Congress, quite unnerved by the crisis, and influenced by popular feeling in favour of Roosevelt, gave him these powers. He became practically a dictator (though a democratic one), and everybody looked to him for immediate and effective action to save them from disaster. He did act with lightning rapidity, and within a few weeks he had shaken up the whole of the United States by his various activities, and produced an even greater feeling of confidence in himself.

—*Glimpses of World History.*

SECTION XIII

Under The Red Flag

Communism is a force which the nationalist India cannot ignore for long. It matters little if the Congress does not see eye to eye with the Communist Party of India, because Communism is not the monopoly of a party or an organisation. Communism is a world movement which every country is free to interpret in its own way. India is generating a socialism of her own. In this section there have been embodied selected quotations from Nehru on the causes and effects of Communism.

I

The Red Flag, as everybody knows, is now the flag of the workers everywhere, of socialism and communism. Formerly it used to be the official flag to proclaim martial law against the people. I imagine, but I am not sure, that the use of this flag by the Paris Commune was the first use of it on behalf of the people, and it was from this that it gradually developed into the workers' flag.

VOLTAIRE'S PROPHECY

In 1778 old Voltaire, who had been an exile almost all his life, came back to Paris to die. He was eighty-four years old then. Addressing the youth of Paris he said, "The young are fortunate ; they will see great things." Indeed they saw and took part in great things, for the Revolution broke out eleven years later. It had been kept waiting long enough.

The French Terror was a terrible thing. And yet it was a flea-bite compared to the chronic evils of poverty and unemployment. **The costs of social revolution, however great they might be, are less than these evils and the cost of war which comes to us from time to time under our present political and social system.** The Terror of the French Revolution looms large because many titled and aristocratic persons were its victims, and we are so used to honouring the privileged classes that our sympathies go out to them when they are in trouble. It is well to sympathize with them as with others. But it is also well to remember that they are just a few. We may wish them well.e But those who really matter are the masses, and we cannot sacrifice the many to a few. **"Tis the people that compose the human**

race," writes Rousseau ; "what is not people's is so small a concern that it is not worth the trouble of counting."

The poor English workers were dying from slow starvation and overwork. After the Napoleonic wars the country was exhausted, and there was an economic depression, the workers suffering most by this. The workers naturally wanted to form associations to protect themselves and to fight for better conditions. In the old days there had been guilds of artisans and skilled workers, but these were quite different. Still the memory of these guilds must have been an inducement to the factory-workers to form associations of their own. But they were prevented from doing so. **The British ruling classes were so frightened by the French Revolution that they made laws—Combination Acts they were called—to prevent the poor workers from even meeting together to discuss their own grievances. "Law and order," then in England as now in India, has always performed the very useful function of serving the ends and the pockets of the handful of those in authority.** —*Glimpses of World History.*

II

CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM

In the West industrialism has led to big scale capitalism and imperialism. Many of us who denounce British imperialism in India do not realise that it is not a phenomenon peculiar to the British race or to India, or that it is the necessary consequence of industrial development on capitalist lines. **For capitalism necessarily leads to exploitation of one man by another, one group by another and one country by another. Therefore, we are opposed to this imperialism and exploitation.** We must also be opposed to capitalism as a system and to the domination of one country over another. The only alternative that is offered to us is some form of socialism, that is the state-ownership of the means of production and distribution. We cannot escape the choice and if we really care for a better order of society and for ending the exploitation of man by man, we cannot but cast our weight on the side of socialism.

And if we so decide what consequences follow ? The necessary result is that we must not only fight British dominion in India on nationalistic ground but also on social and industrial grounds. This is all the more necessary as the modern form of imperial domination is not the old crude method of possession of territory, but the subtler way of economic imperialism. England may well permit us to have a larger measure of political liberty but this will be worth little if she holds economic dominion over us. And no Indian, capitalist or socialist, if he appreciates the full significance of this new slavery can willingly submit to it.

Another consequence that must follow the adoption of the socialistic view-point is our changing all such customs as are based on privileges, and birth, and caste and the like. **From our future**

society we must cast out all parasities so that the many who lack utterly the good things of life may also share in them to some extent. We must remember that poverty and want are no longer economic necessities, although under the present anarchic capitalist system, they may be inevitable. The world and our country produce enough or can produce enough for the masses to attain a high standard of well-being, but unhappily the good things are covered by a few and millions live in utter want. In India, the classic land of famine, famines are not caused by want of food but by the want of money to buy food. We have famines of money, not food.

The third cousequence will affect our international contact and our international outlook. If we are opposed to imperialism and know that this is a phase of capitalism we must oppose the latter, wherever we may meet it. England as a premier capitalistic and imperialistic power becomes our chief opponent in this field also, and there can be no effective co-operation between India and England so long as she does not come into line with modern progressive thought.

THIRD BRITISH EMPIRE

In the light of these considerations let us briefly examine the question of independence for India. Even if the National Congress had not pronounced in its favour, I am sure none of you would require to be converted to it. But some of our elders and friends suffer strangely from various complexes and delusions and the British Empire is one of them. They cannot get out of the professions and habits of a lifetime, nor can they rid themselves of the chains of their own fashioning. **What is the British Empire to-day, "The third British Empire" as an ardent advocate has called it? If we leave out India and the dependencies, it is like the farmer's cat in Alice in Wonder Land whose body has entirely disappeared and only the Jin has remained. How long can this disembodied Jin remain, I leave it to you to judge. The world has judged already and few imagine that it will endure long.** The Empire is fast approaching dissolution and world crisis may end it. The British people have shown extraordinary ability in adapting themselves to changing circumstances and to this they owe their strength and the long lease of power that they have enjoyed. But the world is moving too fast for them and recent events, specially in relation to India, indicate that their old skill is gone. But whether the Empire endures or not, how can India find a place in it when her national and international and economic interests conflict with it in almost every vital matter? We must recognise internationalism of to-day and act internationally if we are to face realities. We cannot be independent in the narrow sense. When we talk of independence we mean the severance of the British connection. Afterwards we can develope the friendliest contact with other countries including England. The British Commonwealth, in spite of its high sounding name, does not stand

for this international co-operation, and in its world policy has consistently stood for a narrow and selfish ideal and against the peace of the world.

If independence is our only and inevitable goal we cannot in logic and decency ask the British to protect us from other foreign countries. I am wholly prepared to accept the argument that if we want British help to defend our frontiers, we are not fit for independence. But I wholly deny that we cannot face the risk of foreign invasion without British aid. No country is strong enough to-day with the possible exception of the United States of America, to withstand a group of hostile countries. England certainly is not. But no one will say that England should, therefore, be deprived of her independence and put under alien control. The security of a country depends on many factors, on its relations with its neighbours and on the world situation generally. If the problem of the Indian defence is examined in the light of these factors, the strength of India becomes obvious. She has no great dangers to face and in a military sense she is by no means weak. But even if there was a danger, it is shameful and cowardly to seek for help from a nation which was in the past and is to-day oppressing us and preventing all growth. Whatever independence may or may not mean and whether we use that word or another, the one thing that we must keep in the forefront of our programme is the immediate withdrawal of the British army of occupation from this country. That is the real meaning of freedom. Unless that takes place, all other talk is merely moonshine.

SOCIALIST STATE

We may demand freedom for our country on many grounds. Ultimately it is the economic problem that matters. Our educated classes have so far taken the lead in the fight for Swaraj. The economic pressure on them was considerable and others were only vocal elements ; and so the demand has taken the form occasionally of Indianisation of services, of higher posts being thrown open to Indians. They are to blame for these demands. They have acted as every class conscious of its interests acts. But in doing so they have seldom paid heed to deeds of the masses. Whenever vital questions affecting the masses have arisen, they have been shelved, they have asked to stand over till Swaraj has been attained: Why confuse the issue. now? It has been said, we can settle our problems later. Like all class-conscious groups, they have considered themselves the most vital elements in the nation and in the name of freedom have really sought to advance their own interest and many of our intellectuals have become staunchest defenders of the privileges of empire as soon as they had their share of the titles and power. **What shall it profit the masses of this country— the peasantry, the landless labourers, the workers, the shopkeepers, the artisans—if everyone of the offices held by Englishmen in India is held by Indians? It may benefit them a little as they can bring more pressure**

to bear on their own people than on an alien Government. But fundamentally this condition cannot improve until the social fabric is changed and I think that the only effective change can be the formation of a democratic socialistic State. But even from the narrow point of view of our intellectuals, it is now well recognised that no effective pressure can be brought to bear on the British Government without mass support. But in spite of recognition there is the fear of the masses and little is done. Mass support cannot come for vague ideals of Swaraj. It can only come when the masses realise what Swaraj means for them. Therefore, it is essential that we must clearly lay down an economic programme, must have an ultimate ideal in view and must also provide for the immediate steps to be taken to bring them relief.

Our ideal thus can only be an independent democratic state and I would add a socialistic state, and for this we must work. What can be our methods ? This is a revolutionary change from present conditions and revolutionary changes cannot be brought about by reformist tactics and methods. The reformer who is afraid of radical change or of over-throwing an oppressive regime and seeks merely to eliminate some of its abuses becomes in reality one of its defenders. We must, therefore, cultivate a revolutionary outlook, one that devises a radical and far-reaching change, and not merely that halting outlook of the half-hearted reformer. The way of violence not being open to us in our present conditions, the only other course is some form of non-co-operation. Everything that goes towards creating a revolutionary atmosphere helps everything that lessens its hinderances. I use the word 'revolutionary' in its proper sense without any necessary connection with violence. Indeed, violence may be and I think this is to-day In India, the very reverse of revolution. Acts of terrorism of a hero have counter-revolutionary effect and for this reason alone, apart from any other reasons, are injurious to the national cause. No nation has yet been built upon such individual acts of terrorism.

III
STALIN AND TROTSKY

The immediatte conflict between Stalin and Trotsky had taken place on Stalin's proposal to adopt an aggressive agrarian policy to win over the peasant to socialism in Russia, apart from what happened in other countries, and Trotsky rejected it and stuck to his theory of "permanent revolution," without which, he said the peasantry could not be fully socialized. As a matter of fact, Stalin adopted many of Trotsky's suggestions, but he did so in his own way, not in Trotsky's. Referring to this Trotsky has written in his autobiography : "**In Politics, however, it is not merely, what but how and who that decides.**"

Anglo-Russian friction has been a permanent feature of international politics. The trial of the British engineers in April 1933 in Moscow led to reprisals and counter-reprisals, but the storm blew over and normal relations were re-established. But

the Conservative Government of Britain dislikes the Soviet, and there is always tension between them. In the United State of America friendlier feelings are growing towards Russia and President Roosevelt is establishing normal relations. **The interests of America and Russia hardly come into conflict anywhere in the world.**

LENIN

There was no doubt or vagueness in Lenin's mind. His were the penetrating eyes which detected the moods of the masses; the clear head which could apply and adapt well-thought-out principles to changing situations, the inflexible will which held on to the course he had mapped out, regardless of immediate consequences. The very day he arrived he shook up violently the Bolshevik party, criticized their inaction, and pointed out in burning phrases what their duty was. His speech was an electric charge which pained but at the same time vivified. **"We are not charlatans," he said; "we must base ourselves only on the consciousness of the masses. Even if it is necessary to remain in a minority—so be it. It is a good thing to give up for a time the position of leadership; we must not be afraid to remain in the minority."** And so he stuck to his principles and refused to compromise. The revolution, which had drifted for so long leaderless and without guides, had at last got its leader. The hour had produced the man.

Lenin came to the outskirts of Petrograd, and the Bolsheviks decided that the time had come to seize power from the Provisional Government. Trotsky was put in charge of all the arrangements for the insurrection, and everything was carefully mapped, what vital points to seize and when. November 7th was fixed for the rising. On that day there was going to be a session of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Lenin fixed this date, and his reason for it is interesting. "November the 6th will be too early," he is reported to have said. "We must have an All-Russian basis for a rising, and on the 6th all the delegates to the Congress will not have arrived. On the other hand, Nevember 8th will be too late. By that time the Congress will be organized, and it is difficult for a large body of people to take swift, decisive action. We must act on the 7th, the day the Congress meets, so that we may say to it, 'Here is the power! What are you going to do with it?'" Thus spoke the clear-headed expert in revolution, knowing full well that **the success of revolutions often depends on apparently trivial happenings.**

SEVENTEEN FRONTS

Peace was made between the Allies and the German Powers on November, 11, 1918, when the armistice was signed. But in Russia civil war raged throughout 1919 and 1920. Single-handed, the Soviets fought a host of enemies. At one time the Red Army was attacked on seventeen different fronts. England, America, France, Japan, Italy, Serbia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, the

States, Poland, and a host of counter-revolutionary Russian generals were all opposing the Soviet, and the fighting extended from Eastern Siberia to the Baltic and the Crimea. Repeatedly, the end of the Soviet seemed near, Moscow itself was threatened, Petrograd was on the point of falling to the enemy, but it surmounted every crisis, and with each success grew its confidence and strength.

Another army order issued by Trotsky in October 1919 is interesting as it shows how the Bolsheviks always tried to distinguish between the people and the capitalist governments, and never took up a purely national attitude.

"But even to-day," the order runs, "when we are engaged in a bitter fight with Yudenich, the hireling of England, I demand that you never forget that there are two Englands. Besides the England of profits, of violence, bribery and bloodthirstiness, there is the England of labour, spiritual power, of high ideals of international solidarity. It is the base and dishonest England of the Stock Exchange manipulators that is fighting us. The England of labour and the people is with us."

Right through the civil war in Russia the Red Terror and the White Terror competed with each other in their harsh cruelty, and probably the latter surpassed the former greatly. So one would conclude from the American general's account (which I have quoted above) about Kolchak's atrocities in Siberia, as well as other accounts. But there can be no doubt that the Red Terror was severe, and many innocent people must have suffered. The nerves of the Bolsheviks, attacked as they were on all sides, and surrounded by conspiracies and spies, gave way, and at the slightest suspicion they punished heavily. Their political police, called the Cheka especially, got a bad name for this terror. It was the equivalent of the C. I. D. in India, but with greater powers.

THE RUSSIAN SONG

We went, asking for work and for bread,
Our hearts were oppressed with anguish,
The chimneys of the factories pointed towards the sky, like tired hands without strength to make a fist.

Louder than the cannon, the silence was broken by the words of our grief and our pain.
O Lenin ! the desire of calloused hands.
We have understood, Lenin, we have understood that our lot is a struggle !

Struggle ! struggle !
You led us to the last fight. Struggle !
You gave us the victory of labour.
And no one shall take away from us this victory over ignorance and oppression.

No one ! No one ! Never ! Never !
Let every one be young and grave in the struggle,
Because the name of our victory is October !
October ! October !
October is a messenger from the sun.
October is the will of the revolting centuries !
October ! It is a labour, it is a joy and a song.
October ! It is a good fortune for the fields and machines !
Here is the banner name of the young generation and Lenin.
—*Glimpses of World History*.

IV

KINGS OF INDUSTRY

I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican, and am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry, who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men that even the kings of old, and whose methods are as predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy. I recognize, however, that it may not be possible for a body constituted as is this National Congress, and in the present circumstances of the country, to adopt a full Socialistic programme. But we must realize that the philosophy of Socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over, and almost the only points in dispute are the pace and the methods of advance to its full realization. India will have to go that way, too, if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality, though she may evolve her own methods and may adapt the ideal to the genius of her race.

We have three major problems—the minorities, the Indian States, and labour and peasantry. I have dealt already with the question of minorities. I shall only repeat that we must give the fullest assurance by our words and deeds that their culture and traditions will be safe.

PUPPET PRINCES

The Indian States, even for India, are the most curious relics of a bygone age. Many of their rulers apparently still believe in the divine right of kings—puppet kings though they be—and consider the State and all it contain to be their personal property, which they can squander at will. A few of them have a sense of responsibility and have endeavoured to serve their people, but many of them have hardly any redeeming feature. **It is perhaps unjust to blame them, for they are but the products of a vicious system, and it is the system that will ultimately have to go.** One of the rulers has told us frankly that even in case of war between India and England he will stand for England and fight against his mother country. That is the measure of his patriotism. It is not surprising, then, that they claim, and their claim finds acceptance with the British Government, that they alone can represent their

subjects at any conference, and no one even of their subjects may have any say. The Indian States cannot live apart from the rest of India, and their rulers must, unless they accept their inevitable limitations, go the way of others who thought like them. And the only people who have a right to determine the future of the States must be the people of those States, including the rulers. This Congress which claims self-determination cannot deny it to the people of the States. Meanwhile, the Congress is perfectly willing to confer with such rulers as are prepared to do so, and to devise means whereby the transition may not be too sudden. But in no event can the people of the States be ignored.

INDIA MEANS PEASANTRY

Our third major problem is the biggest of all. For India means the peasantry and labour, and to the extent that we raise them and satisfy their wants, will we succeed in our task. And the measure of the strength of our national movement will be the measure of their adherence to it. We can only gain them to our side by our espousing their cause, which is really the country's cause. The Congress, it is said, must hold the balance fairly between capital and labour and zamindar and tenant. But the balance has been and is terribly weighted on one side, and to maintain the status quo is to maintain injustice and exploitaion. The only way to right it is to do away with the domination of any one class over another. The All-India Congress Committee accepted this ideal of social and economic change in a resolution it passed some months ago in Bombay. I hope the Congress will also set its seal on it, and will further draw up a programme of such changes as can be immediately put in operation.

TRUSTEESHIP

In this programme perhaps the Congress as a whole cannot go very far to-day. But it must keep the ultimate ideal in view and work for it. The question is not one merely of wages and charity doled out by an employer or landlord, paternalism in industry or in the land is but a form of charity with all its sting and its utter incapacity to root out the evil. **The new theory of trusteeship, which some advocate, is equally barren. For trusteeship means that the power for good or evil remains with the self-appointed trustee, and he may exercise it as he will. The sole trusteeship that can be fair is the trusteeship of the nation and not of one individual or a group. Many Englishmen honestly consider themselves the trustees for India, and yet to what a condition have they reduced our country !**

We have to decide for whose benefit industry must be run and the land produce food. To-day the abundance that the land produces is not for the peasant or the labourer who work on it ; and industry's chief function is supposed to be to produce millionares. However golden the harvest and heavy the dividends, the mud huts and hovels and nakedness of our people testify to the glory of the British Empire and of our present social system.

Our economic programme must, therefore be based on a human outlook and must not sacrifice man to money. If an industry cannot be run without starving its workers, then the industry must close down. If the workers on the land have not enough to eat, then the intermediaries who deprive them of their full share must go. The least that every worker in field or factory is entitled to is a minimum wage which will enable him to live in moderate comfort and humane hours of labour which do not break his strength and spirit. The All-Parties Committee accepted the principle and included it in their recommendation. I hope the Congress will also do so, and will in addition be prepared to accept its natural consequences. Further, that it will adopt the well-known demands of labour for a better life, and will give every assistance to it to organise itself and prepare itself for the day when it can control industry on a co-operative basis.

V

A NOTE ON THE LAND PROBLEM

Any radical change in the land system, involving large-scale co-operative and collectivist farming, must be preceded or accompanied by the ending of the present zamindari or landlord system wherever it prevails. The question arises as to whether compensation should be given to the landlords so dispossessed. If the change can be brought about by peaceful and democratic methods, it would be desirable to give some compensation and so avoid a conflict which is likely to be wasteful and more costly than the compensation itself. But it must be borne in mind that anything in the nature of full compensation is utterly out of the question, especially in so far as the big landlords are concerned. To give such compensation in the shape of bonds would be to mortgage the future of the land and to continue almost the same burden on the peasantry though in another form. Therefore, a form of compensation would have to be devised which removed this burden and at the same time lessened the distress and upsetting which a change-over would bring to the landlord groups. Probably the compensation would be proportionately less higher up in the scale—the middle landlords getting proportionately more than the bigger ones.

It should be remembered that the word 'landlord' is rather a misleading one. In the United Provinces (a Zamindari province) there are a million-and-a-half so-called landlords. Probably about 35 per cent. of them are no better than the tenant class, and many are worse off than the better-off tenants. There can by no question of depriving them of anything ; they stand in need of further help and of a reduction of their burdens—debt, revenue, etc., Of the remaining 15 per cent., only a tiny fraction of 1 per cent. are really biggish landlords—about 5,000 in all—and about 1,000 of these might be considered the big landlords whose incomes from land vary from about Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 5,000,000 per annum. Those whose incomes run into millions are a mere handful, of course.

During the recent depression and fall in agricultural prices the position of the landlord has steadily deteriorated, and many of the middle landlords are on the verge of bankruptcy. The moneylender holds them as well as the tenants, in his grip. Some recent legislation has slighty eased the position vis-a-vis the money-lender, but it does not go nearly far enough.

Apart from the landlord and the tenant there are large number of the landless proletariat who are largely unemployed, or only partially employed during harvesting and other seasons.

The problem in those parts of India where the Zamindari system does not prevail (Punjab, Gujerat, South India) and there is peasant proprietorship, is somewhat different. These peasant proprietors are much better off than the tenants of the Zamindari areas, but latterly they have also deteriorated greatly. Behind them again are the landless classes, many of these being the so-called depressed classes.

Questions of compensation and the like arise only when an attempt is made, as it should be made, to have a peaceful change-over from one system to another. In the event of upheavals, brought on by delay in making the necessary changes in time, it is impossible to say how matters will shape themselves.

VI

SCIENCE AND PROGRESS

Though I have long been a slave driven in the chariot of Indian politics, with little leisure for other thoughts, my mind has often wandered to the days when as a student I haunted the laboratories of that home of Science—Cambridge. And though circumstances made me part company with science, my thoughts turned to it with longing. In later days through devious processes, I arrived again at science, when I realized that science was not only a pleasant diversion and abstraction but was of the very texture of life, without which our modern world would vanish away. **Politics led me to economics and this led me inevitably to science, and the scientific approach to all our problems and to life itself.** It was science alone that could solve these problems of hunger, and poverty, of insanitation and literacy, of superstition, and deadening custom and tradition, of vast resources running to waste, of a rich country inhabited by starving people.

I have read, therefore, with interest and appreciation Lord Rutherford's remarks on the role of science in national life, and the need of training and maintaining research workers. And then, I wondered how far all this was possible under our present scheme of things. Something could be done, no doubt even now, but how little that is what might and should be done. Lord Rutherford tells us of the need of national planning. I believe that without such planning little that is worthwhile can be done. But can this be done under present conditions, both political and social. At

every step vested interests prevent planning and ordered development, and all our energy and enthusiasm is wasted, because of this obstruction. **Can we plan on a limited scale for limited objectives? We may do so in some measure, but immediately we come up against new problems and our plans go away. Life is one organic whole. and it cannot be separated into water-tight compartments.** The Mississippi Valley Committee writing in their letter of Transmittal to the Federation, Administration of Public Works, U.S.A. refer to this planning business : "Planning for the use and control of water is planning of most of the basic functions of life of a nation. We cannot plan for water unless we also reconsider the relevant problems of the land. We cannot plan for water and land unless we plan for the whole people. It is of little use to control rivers unless we also master the condition which make for the security and freedom for the human life".

And so we are driven back to think of these basic conditions of human life, of the social system, the economic structure. If science is the dominating factor in modern life, then the social system and economic structure must fit in with science or it is doomed. Lord Rutherford tells of the need for co-operation between the Scientist and the Industrialist. That need is obvious. So also is the need for co operation between the Scientist and the Politician.

I am entirely in favour of a state organization of research. I would also like the state to send out promising Indian students in large numbers to foreign countries for scientific and technical training. For we have to build India on a scientific foundation, to develop her industries, to change that feudal character of her land system, and bring her agriculture in line with modern methods, to develop the social services, which she lacks so utterly to-day and to do so many other things that shout out to be done. For all this we require a trained personnel.

I should like our Central and Provincial Governments to have expert boards to investigate our problems and suggest solutions. A politician dislikes and sometimes suspects the scientist and the expert. But without that expert's aid that politician can do little.

And so, I hope, with Lord Rutherford, "that in the days to come, India will again become the home of science, not only as a form of intellectual activity but also as a means of furthering the progress of her people."

VII

In the course of his address to National Academy of the Sciences, at their annual meeting held in Allahabad in 1938, Nehru said :—

You are men of learning and many of you have distinguished records in the realm of science. Yet you have honour ed me, an outsider, with an invitation to participate in this annual gathering of yours and I have most willingly accepted that invitation. Science

and academic halls have not known me for many a long year, and fate and circumstances have led me to the dust and din of the market-place, and the field and the factory, where men live and toil and suffer. I have become involved in the great human upheavals that have shaken this land of ours in recent years. Yet in spite of the tumult and movement that have surrounded me, I do not come to you wholly as a stranger. For I too have worshipped at the shrine of science and counted myself as one of its votaries.

Who indeed can afford to ignore science to-day? At every turn we have to seek its aid, and the whole fabric of the world to-day is of its making. During the ten thousand years of human civilisation, science came in with one vast sweep a century and a half ago and during these 150 year its proved more revolutionary and explosive than anything that had gone before. We who live in this age of science live in an environment and under conditions which are totally different from those of the pre-scientific age. But few realise this in its completeness, and they seek to understand the problems of to-day by a reference to a yesterday that is dead and gone.

We have vast problems to face and to solve. They will not be solved by the politician alone, for they may not have the vision or the expert knowledge; they will not be solved by the scientists alone, for they will not have the power to do so or the larger outlook which takes everything into it ken. They can and will be solved by the co-operation of the two defined and definite social objective.

That objective is necessary, for without it our efforts are vain and trivial and lack co-ordination. We have seen in Soviet Russia how a consciously held objective, backed by a co-ordinated effort, can change backward country into an advanced, industrial state with an ever-rising standard of living. Some such method we shall have to pursue if we are to make rapid progress.

The greatest of our problems is that of the land, but intimately connected with it is that of Industry. And side by side with these go the social services. All of these will have to be tackled together and co-ordinated together. This is a vast undertaking, but it will have to be shouldered.

Soon after the formation of Congress Ministries, in August, last, the Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution which should interest scientists and experts. I should like, therefore, to draw your attention to it. It ran thus:

"The Working Committee recommends to the Congress Ministries the appointment of a Committee of Experts to consider urgent and vital problems, the solution of which is necessary to any scheme of national reconstruction and social planning. Such solution will require extensive surveys and the collection of data as well as clearly defined social objective. Many of

these problems cannot be dealt with effectively on a provincial basis and the interests of adjoining provinces are interlinked. Comprehensive river surveys are necessary for the formulation of a policy to prevent disastrous floods, to utilize the water for purposes of irrigation, to consider the problem of soil erosion, to eradicate malaria, and for the development of hydro-electric and other schemes. For this purpose, the whole river valleys will have to be surveyed and investigated, and large-scale state-planning resorted to. The development and control of industries require also joint and co-ordinated action on the part of several provinces. The Working Committee advises, therefore, that to begin with an inter-Provincial Committee of Experts be appointed to consider the general nature of the problems to be faced, and to suggest how and in what order these should be tackled. The Experts Committee may suggest the formation of special committee or boards to consider each such problem separately and to advise the Provincial Governments concerned as to the joint action to be undertaken.

VIII

CONGRESS AND COMMUNIST PARTY

The Congress attitude towards the Communist Party has nothing to do with communism or the Soviet Union. It is entirely a question of internal politics in India on which there is difference of opinion, and therefore, it is proposed that in the executive of the Congress it would be wrong to have people who do not agree with the policy of the Congress.

Pandit Nehru thought that the Congress election programme would deal with political, economic, national and international problems. The August 8th Resolution fully explained the Congress approach to the international problems. On the national issue it was independence. And in regard to the economic problem there were a variety of Congress resolutions on the subject. They needed to be developed because the Congress was mainly an agrarian body and industrial and labour issues should be included. There was, however, general agreement on the industrial policy, namely, that heavy and key industries should be state-owned and controlled. Smaller might be left to private enterprise. On the question of planning there must be a measure of state control—not day-to-day control because that led to complication, nepotism, corruption and so on.

SECTION XIV

A Pilgrimage To America

India still looks up to America as the champion of untarnished democracy. Consequently, Jawaharlal has issued appeals to the people of America from time to time. Many an Indian patriot has visited America, physically and spiritually, as pilgrims to the shrines of the American Constitution even hoping against hopes. In the following quotations from the writings of Jawaharlal, we find numerous. points of interest and thought. Nehru is very cautious in his judgment and he never expects a golden shipload of hope from the American El Dorado.

I

I welcome the opportunity of writing in the columns of *Fortune* on the vital problems that confront India These problems are no longer our concern only ; they are of world concern, affecting the entire international situation to-day. More so will they affect the shaping of future events. Whether we consider them from the point of view of the terrible world conflict that is going on, or in terms of the political, economic, and commercial consequences of this war, the future of 400 million human beings is of essential importance. These millions are no longer passive agents of others, submitting with resignation to the decrees of fate. They are active, dynamic, and hungering to shoulder the burden of their own destiny and to shape it according to their own wishes

LESSON OF HISTORY

The Indian struggle for freedom and democracy has evoked a generous response from many an American, but the crisis that faces us all is too urgent for us merely to trade in sympathy or feel benevolent towards each other. We have to consider our major problems objectively and almost impersonally and endeaour to solve them, or else these problems will certainly overwhelm us, as indeed they threaten to do. That has been the lesson of history and we forget it at our peril. It is therefore not merely from a humanitarian point of view, though humanitarianism itself is good, but rather in the objective spirit of science that we should approach our problems.

The next hundred years, it has been said, are going to be the century of America. America is undoubtedly going to play a very important role in the years and generations to come. It is young and vital and full

of the spirit of growth. The small and stuffy countries of Europe, with their eternal conflicts and wars, can no longer control the world. Europe has a fine record of achievement of which it may well be proud. The achievement will endure and possibly find greater scope for development when its accompaniment of domination over others is ended. —*Fortune, April 1942.*

II

Jawaharlal Nehru who is a prophet with a vision about the future course of events in world history, knew that America would one day range itself on the side of the freedom-loving people of the world and then it would be the task of enemies of India to mislead America about Indian religious differences. Therefore as early as 1938, he took upon himself the task of presenting the truth about Indian political affairs to the American public. He wrote :—

CONTINENTAL PROBLEMS

India is smaller than the United States of America, yet it is a vast country, and its population is far larger than that of the United States. Our problems, therefore, are continental. They are unlike those of the small countries of Europe. Till the advent of modern communications and modern methods of transport, it was very difficult for such a vast area to hold together politically for long. The United States grew, and developed into powerful unit, despite the vast area involved because of the increase in transport and communications. If the United States has had a long history, going back hundreds and thousands of years before modern science and industry revolutionised life, probably the country would have been split up into many small national units as happened in Europe. The fact that India was split up politically in the course of her long history was inevitable under the conditions then existing, yet always the idea of political unity of India presisted and kings and emperors sought to realise it.

Asoka indeed achieved unity two thousand years ago, and built up an Empire greater than that of Britain in India to-day. It stretched right into Central Asia, and included Afghanistan. Only a tiny strip in South India remained outside and this because of horror of war, and bloodshed that came over Asoka in the full blood of victory and conquest. Other rulers in the past tried to achieve the political unification of India, and succeeded in some measure. But this desire for a united political control of the whole country could not be realised in view of the lack of means and machinery. The coming of the British to India synchronized with the development in transport, communications and modern industry, so that it was that British rule succeeded at last in establishing Indian political unity. "

ROOTS IN THE PAST

That past record of Indian cultural solidarity does not necessarily help us to-day. It is present conditions that we have to

deal with and memories of what has been may be of little avail. But though that is perfectly true, yet an ancient people has deep roots in the past, and we cannot ignore them. Both the good and the bad that we possess have sprung from those roots, they give us strength and inspiration ; they also burden us, and tie us down to many a harmful traditions and evil practices. India undoubtedly deteriorated and the vital urge in her began to lessen. Her power to assimilate and absorb became feebler and the flexibility of her thought and structure gave way to rigidity. What was dynamic became more and more static. The rationalism and the scientific basis of her thought continued for a favoured few but for others irrationalism and superstition held sway. Caste which was a division of society by occupation and which at the start was far from rigid, developed a fearful rigidity, and became the citadel of social reaction and a basis for the exploitation of the masses. **For a long time India vegetated, the strength had gone out of her and it was inevitable that she should fall an easy prey to the better equipped and more vital and technically advanced nations of the West.**

The immediate result of this was the growth of conservatism, a further shrinking of India inside her shell in self-defence. British rule forwarded this process by crystallizing many a changing custom and giving it the force of law. Even more important in keeping India back was the economic structure which the British rule built up. The feudal Indian state system, the gilded Maharajas and Nawabs, and the big landlord system, were essentially British creations in India. We have them to our misfortune still with us.

SEMI-FEUDAL STRUCTURE

But this desire of the British rulers to keep a semi-feudal structure in India could not hold back the impact of new ideas, and new conditions. The English gave political unity to India. This had now become possible owing to the developments of communications and transport. It was a unity of common subjection, but it gave rise to a unity of common nationalism. The idea of a united and free India gripped the people. It was not a superficial idea imposed from above, but the natural outcome of the fundamental unitywhich had been the background of Indian life for thousands of years. The difference that had crept in was the new emphasis on the political aspect. To combat this the British Government tried to lay stress on the religious differences and adopted a policy which encouraged them and brought them into conflict with each other. It has had a measure of success, but nationalism in India, as in other countries of the East is the dominant urge of the time, and must triumph. This nationalism is being tempered to-day by the economic urge but this is still further removed from the medieval outlook, which thinks in terms of religious groupings in political affairs.

The growth of the powerful nationalist movement in India, represented by the National Congress has demonstrated the political

unity of India. The last seventeen years have seen vast upheavals in the nature of a peaceful rebellion taking place throughout the length and breadth of the country and shaking the foundations of British rule. This voluntary organization commanding the willing allegiance of millions has played a great part in fixing the idea of Indian unity in the minds of our masses. **The capacity for united action and disciplined sacrifice for a national ideal, which the people have shown has demonstrated not only the probability of Indian unity, but its actual existence.** In India to-day no one, whatever his political views or religious persuasions, thinks in terms other than those of national unity.

THE SPOILS OF OFFICE

There are differences of course and certain separatist tendencies but even those do not oppose national freedom or unity. They seek to gain a special favour for their particular groups and because of this they hinder sometimes the growth of the nationalist movement. Religious differences affect politics less and less, though still somtimes they distract attention. There is no religious or cultural problem in India. What is called the religious or communal problem is really a dispute among upper class people for a division of the spoils of office or representation in a legislature. This will surely be settled amicably whenever it arises.

III

In an article in the Atlantic Monthly in April 1942, Pandit Nehru wrote :—India is far from America, but more and more our thoughts go to this great democratic country which seems, almost alone, to keep the torch of democratic freedom alight in a world given over to imperialism and fascism, violence and aggression and opportunities of the worst type.

If I may with all respect suggest to the great people of America, they have all gone wrong in regard to India, to China, and to the whole of Asia. You (Americans) have looked upon India as an appendage of Britain, and Asia as the dependent of Europe and America. Some of you have thought in terms of benevolence towards these countries, but always with that taint of racial superiority. You have considered yourself with your inventions of the machine age to be infinitely better than us and that we are a benighted backward people. But the people of Asia do not propose to be treated in that manner any longer. Asia is the mother continent of the world, and India and China constitute the real mother countries of the world. What is the good of the people, simply because they have some very great material achievements, when they have forgotten and are not learning the very essence and art of living. They have built and are building better motor cars. This is a machine age. But we will also learn to build machines—better machines. The Americans have forgotten the magnificent achievements of China and India.

IV

Writing in the American quarterly "Foreign Affairs" in January 1938, under the caption of "The Unity of India", Nehru greeted the Americans, affirming :—

"Most Americans, bred up in the democratic tradition sympathise with India's struggle for freedom. They dislike Empire, and Imperialism and the domination and exploitation of one Nation by another. And yet they are perplexed when they consider Indian problem, wondering whether it is possible to build a united and progressive Nation out of the seemingly infinite diversity that makes up the fabric of Indian life ? They have heard so much of the separatist elements, of the conflict of religion, and the culture, of the variety of languages, of the medieval conditions in the semi-feudal regions of the Indian States, of social cleavages, of the general backwardness of Indian life, that doubts assail them, whether it is possible to harmonise all these in a free and independent India. Can democracy be built upon such insecure foundations ? Could India stand together and free, if British rule were withdrawn ?

V

FREEDOM FOR A NATION

It is characteristic of Nehru that he does not put a gloss over the defects of his countrymen ; just as he is candid about the shortcomings of Americans, the same is true of his attitude towards India. If he does not believe in "My country right or wrong", he expects the same from the Americans. He says :—

These hesitations and perplexities are natural. The question in which they originate must be considered by us dispassionately and we must attempt to find the right answers. Freedom for a Nation and a people may be and is, I believe, always good in the long run, but in the final analysis, freedom itself is a means to an end, that end being the raising of the people in question to higher levels, and hence the general advancement of humanity. The vital and most important problem that faces us in India is the appalling poverty of the people. Will political independence help us to diminish this as well as the numerous ills that flow from it ?

It is well to remember that the British have been in effective control of India for more than a hundred and fifty years and that during this period they had almost complete freedom to act in any manner they chose. No democratic or any other kind of control in fact existed, the British Parliament being too far away, and too ignorant to intervene. India was and is a rich country, rich in agricultural resources, mineral wealth, human material, only her people are poor. It was indeed the wealth of India that attracted hordes of foreign adventurers to her shores. With these resources and that human material, and following a century and a half of unchecked despotism, one is entitled to ask for substantial results.

During this period, Europe has changed out of recognition. Japan has bounded up with an amazing speed, America has become the most advanced and the wealthiest country in the world. But in India we still have grinding poverty, a general absence of sanitation, and medical relief, a lack indeed of all good things of life. There are undoubtedly some good works, which have followed British rule, notably in the field of Irrigation. But how little they are compared to what might have been.

It is idle to blame the Indian people for this when those people have been allowed no say in the matter. The very backwardness of a people is a condemnation of its Government. With this patent result of British rule in India, little argument is needed to demonstrate its failure. It is true that our present problems are no nearer solution. It nevertheless is well to bear in mind, for the very structure of British Imperialist rule has been, and is such as to aggravate our problems, and not to solve any of them. And because these problems insistently demand solution, we have to look for it outside the orbit of British Empire.

The National Congress stands for Independence and a democratic state. It has proposed that the constitution of a free India must be framed without outside interference by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of an adult franchise. That is the democratic way, and there is no other way short of revolution which can bring the needed result. An Assembly so elected will represent the people as a whole and will be far more interested in the economic and social problems of the masses than in the petty communal issues, which affect small groups. Thus it will solve without much difficulty the communal and other problems. It will not solve so easily the economic problems, but the clash of interest there is similar to that found all over the world.

SECTION XV

Up the Himalayas

The glorious valleys of the Himalayas have always haunted the mind of Jawaharlal inside and outside the prison walls. He has carried the impress of Kashmir on the table of his mind. The picturesque vegetation has gripped him. The following essay written by him is a reasoned appreciation of nature and art.

"Yes, in my mind these mountains rise,
Their perils dyed with evening's rose ;
And still my ghost sits at my eyes
And thirsts for their untroubled snows."

Nearly six years ago I quoted these lines from Walter de la Mare as I sat in prison writing the story of mv life and thinking of my last visit to Kashmir. In prison or outside, Kashmir haunted me, and, though many years had passed since I had set eyes on its valleys and mountains, I carried the impress of them on the tablet of my mind. I yearned to visit them again, and struggled against this yearning. Was I to leave my work that took all my time, play truant to it, to satisfy the hunger of my eyes and the desire of my heart ?

But days passed and months and years, and life is short, and a fear gripped me with this passing of time. Age may have its advantages, and the Chinese, above all other people, have praised them. It gives, or should give, stability and equilibrium to the mind, a sense of poise, an appearance of wisdom, even a keener appreciation of beauty in all its forms. But age is stiff and crabbed and unimpressionable and reacts slowly to outside stimuli. It cannot be moulded easily ; its emotional reactions are limited. It looks to comfort and security more than to the fine frenzy of enthusiasm. While it gives its sober and reasoned appreciation to the beauty of nature and art, it does not mirror this beauty in its eyes or feel it in its heart. It **makes all the difference in the world whether one visits Italy, not Fascist Italy, but the Italy of sun and music and beautiful art, of Leonardo and Raphael and Michael Angelo, of Dante and Petrarch in one's youth or in later years. Besides, what can age do to a mountain except sit and gaze in silent wonder ?**

So with the passing of time and the slow but irresistible coming of age over me, I began to grow afraid lest I might no longer be capable of experiencing that emotional reaction to the beauty of Kashmir when at last I went there again.

Friends in Kashmir invited me repeatedly to go there. Sheikh Abdullah pressed me again and again, and everyone who was of Kashmir reminded me that I, too, was a son of this noble land and owed a duty to it. I smiled at their insistence, for the urge within me was far greater than any that they could have placed before me. Last year I made up my mind to go and, if it was possible, to take Gandhiji with me. But at the last moment fate willed otherwise and I hurried by air to the other end of India and across the sea to Lanka, and on my return I flew to China.

Meanwhile events marched on with amazing speed. War came in Europe and began to spread its tentacles to India. New problems arose, new difficulties, and I noticed with alarm that I was being caught more and more in the clutches of these events. Would the possibility of my visiting Kashmir again recede into the far distance ? My mind rebelled against this fate, and even as the future of France hung in the balance, I went to the Frontier Province and on from there to Kashmir.

I took the route *via* Abbottabad and the Jhelum Valley, a pleasure route with the panorama of the Valley slowly unfolding in all its charm and beauty. But perhaps it would have been better if I had gone *via* Jammu and over the Pir Panjal. **This is dull going most of the way but as one crosses the mountain and goes through a long tunnel the sight that meets the eye is overpowering in its magic beauty. Out of the darkness one comes into the light, and there, far below, lies the vale of Kashmir, like some wonderland of our dreams, encircled by high mountains that guard it jealously from intrusion.**

I did not go this way, and my approach was more sober and the change was slower. But my mind was filled with the excitement of my return, and it pleased me to be welcomed everywhere as a brother and a comrade, who, in spite of long absence, was still of Kashmir and was coming back to his old homeland. With joy I saw the reality of the pictures in my mind which I had treasured for long years. I emerged from the mountains and the narrow valley, down which the Jhelum roared and tumbled in youthful abandon, and the vale itself spread out before me. There were the famous poplars, slim and graceful sentinels, beckoning a welcome to you. There was the lordly chenar in all its majesty, with centuries of growth behind it. And there were the beautiful women and bonny children of Kashmir working in the fields.

We approached Srinagar, and there were cordial welcome and friendly faces everywhere. Up the river we went in a stately barge with numerous shikaras following, and the riverside steps and houses filled with cheering men and women and children. I was moved, as I have seldom been by this affection

that was showered upon me, and I became tongue-tied by the emotions that surged within me as the panorama of Srinagar passed by. Hari Parvat was in the backgrouud, and Shankaracharya or Takht-e-Suleiman loomed in the distance. I was in Kashmir.

I spent twelve days in Kashmir, and during this brief period we went some way up the Amarnath Valley and also up the Liddar Valley to the Kolahoi glacier. We visited the ancient temple at Martand and sat under the venerable chenar trees of Brijbehara, which had grown and spread during four hundred years of human history. We loitered in the Moghal gardens and lived for a while in their scented past. We drank the delightful water of Chasme Shahi and swam about in the Dal Lake. We saw the lovely handiwork of the gifted artisans of Kashmir. We attended numerous public functions, delivered speeches, and met people of all kinds.

I tried to give my mind to the activity of the moment, and perhaps, in a measure, succeeded. But my mind was largely elsewhere, and I went through my engagements and the day's programme, and functioned on the public stage like one who is absorbed in some other undertaking or is on a secret errand whose object he cannot disclose. The loveliness of the land enthralled me and cast an enchantment all about me. I wandered about like one possessed and drunk with beauty, and the intoxication of it filled my mind.

Like some supremely beautiful woman, whose beauty is almost impersonal and above human desire, such was Kashmir in all its feminine beauty of river and valley and lake and graceful trees. And then another aspect of this magic beauty would come to view, a masculine one, of hard mountains and precipices, and snow-capped peaks and glaciers, and cruel and fierce torrents rushing down to the valleys below. It had a hundred faces and innumerable aspects, ever-changing, sometimes smiling, sometimes sad and full of sorrow. The mist would creep up from the Dal Lake and, like a transparent veil, give glimpses of what was behind. The clouds would throw out their arms to embrace a mountain-top, or creep down stealthily like children at play. I watched this ever-changing spectacle, and sometimes the sheer loveliness of it was overpowering and I felt almost faint. As I gazed at it, it seemed to me dream-like and unreal, like the hopes and desires that fill us and so seldom find fulfilment. It was like the face of the beloved that one sees in a dream and that fades away on awakening.

II

When I went to China, I marvelled at the artistry and exquisite craftsmanship of the Chinese people. India has long been famous for her artisans and craftsmen, but China seemed to me to be definitely superior in this respect. In Kashmir I had the feeling that there was something which could equal China.

How beautiful are the articles made by the deft fingers of Kashmir's workers ! To look at them was a pleasure, to handle them a delight.

Kashmir has been famous for its shawls for hundreds of years. Yet in spite of this fame the making of these fine shawls languished and shoddy articles from western factories took their place. That was the fate also of other fine handmade articles of Kashmir. A limited tourish trade survived, but, generally speaking, the rich people of India preferred foreign goods to these things of beauty and artistic worth that Kashmir produced.

The National Movement in India, which took a new turn twenty years ago, had far-reaching results in many fields. Our insistence on handmade products gave a new life to these products, and many a dying industry was revived. Kashmir was affected by this renaissance also, and gradually a new market for Kashmir goods sprang up in India. The all-India Spinners' Association played a leading part in this, and their Kashmir branch became the supplier of hundreds of sale-depots all over India. Yes the pace has been slow and might well have been quicker. This growth of handicrafts has brought work to many of the skilled unemployed and points the way to prosperity.

But wages are low, and the contrast between the loveliness of the work done and the wages paid for this skill shames one. Kashmir, even more than the rest of India, is a land of contrasts. In this land, overladen with natural beauty and rich nature's gifts, stark poverty reigns and humanity is continually struggling for the barest of subsistences The men and women of Kashmir are good to look at and pleasant to talk to They are intelligent and clever with their hands. They have a rich and lovely country to live in. Why, then should they be so terribly poor ?

Again and again, as I was wrapped in pleasurable contemplation of Kashmir's beauty, I came back to hard earth with a shock when I saw this appalling poverty. Why should these people remain so miserably poor, I wondered, when nature had so abundantly endowed them ? I do not know what the mineral or other natural resources of Kashmir are. I should imagine that the country is rich in them, and in any event a very full survey is one of the first step that should be taken.

But even if no additional wealth was disclosed, the existing resources are enough to raise the standard of living considerably, provided, of course, that they are properly co-ordinated and utilized on a planned and ordered basis. Cheap power is available and many small and big industries can be started. The field for the development of cottage industries and handicrafts is enormous. Then there is the tourist traffic, for which Kashmir is an ideal country. It can well become the playground, not only of India, but of Asia.

I do not personally fancy a country depending largely on tourist traffic. Such dependence is not good, and external causes

may put a sudden end to it. But there is no reason why tourist traffic should not be developed as a part of a general scheme of all-round development. There is at present a Tourist Department, but its activities appear to be strictly limited and of the flat, official variety. I could not even obtain simple guide-books of Kashmir. Some of the descriptive accounts of the routes to and in Kashmir were so badly got up and printed that it was painful to refer to them. Even now, possibly the only decent guides are those written a generation or more ago. The first job that the Tourist Department should take up is to produce cheap and simple guides and folders with full information about the various routes up or across valleys.

Kashmir is an ideal place for youth hostels such as have grown up all over Europe and America. The whole country should be dotted with these hostels, and young people, boys and girls, should be encouraged to tramp over the hills and valleys and thus gain an intimate knowledge of the country.

I have mentioned cheap power. On my way up the Jhelum valley, I visited again the hydro-electric power works. More than twenty years had made no difference to them or increased their utility ; much of the power produced was being wasted, and much that could be produced was not produced at all. These works symbolized for me the static condition of Kashmir.

For Kashmir has been singularly static. Srinagar city may have grown and there are more houses on the out-skirts. New boulevards skirt the Dal Lake, and the Maharaja likes to build palaces. His new palace, a vast affair, looked chaste and attractive, unlike the usual palaces of ruling chiefs in florid and exuberant styles. But a few boulevards and palaces do not make much difference to a city or a country, and, apart from these minor changes, the aspect of Srinagar was not greatly changed.

I wish that some great architect would take charge of the planning and rebuilding of Srinagar. The river fronts should be attacked first of all, the slums and dilapidated houses should be removed and airy dwellings and avenues take their place, a proper drainage system introduced, and so much else done to convert Srinagar into a fairy city of dream-like beauty, through which runs the Vitastha and the many canals sluggishly wind their way with the shikaras playing on them and the houseboats clinging to the banks. This is no fancy picture for fairyland lies all round it ; the magic is there already, but unfortunately human hands and human folly have tried to cover it here and there. Still it peeps out through slum and dirt.

But if this planning is to be resorted to, the building of palaces for a few rich must be held up and the resources of the State applied to this great work. There can be no planning with great vested interests consuming a great part of the wealth of the State and obstructing public progress. Nor can there be any such real



Driving Thoughtfully - When Jawaharlal ·ets impatient of slow marching, he drives o the goal of complete Independence, but he lrives thoughtfully. A little carelessness night cause an accident to Madame Demo ·racy who now walketh by the footpath of nternational diplomacy. This is a photo f the Congress Volunteers Rally at Cawn- ore, where accompanied by Dr. Murari ,al, he was taken out in a procession.

India Salutes Nehru—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru dressed in a Complete Volunteer's uniform, accompanied by the commander of the volunteers, going to have a salute on the occasion of the Congress volunteers Rally held at Cawnpore





THEY MARCH TOGETHER

Both of them believe in an ethical approach to life. "I have been attracted," says Nehru, "by Gandhiji's stress on right means and one of his greatest contributions to our public life has been this emphasis."

planning when the standard of the people is very low and poverty consumes them, and evil customs bar the way. We shall have to think differently and act rapidly if we are to achieve substantial results in our generation.

While Kashmir appeared so static and unchanging, one change pleased me greatly. This was the introduction of Basic Education in the State schools. I visited some of these schools and saw the happy children with bright and intelligent faces at work and at play. It is for this generation that we struggle and build, and it is well that some at least among them are learning rightly the business of life and developing in their early years an integrated personality and adaptable minds and hands. I hope that Basic Education will spread throughout Kashmir and bring into its fold every little boy and little girl.

I have written that Kashmir had a static appearance. Yet there was one major and funndamental change, which I sensed as soon as I set foot on its soil. I had heard of political awakening there, of the growth of a big organization, often of troubles and conflicts, of good happenings and bad. I had taken interest in all this and read about it, and sometimes discussed it with those most concerned. So I expected to see this change.

I have enough experience of mass movements, some sense of the crowd, a way of judging rapidly and almost intuitively the strength and depth of popular movements. A big crowd may welcome me, and yet to me it might convey no sense of power or of feelings deeply stirred ; it might even have an air of artificiality, of groups of sightseers out on a holiday, to have a glimpse of a well-known personality. A much smaller crowd might produce a deeper impression on me and give me a glimpse of strange currents and powerful forces beneath the surface of the life of the people.

I try to be receptive, to tune myself to the inner mood of the mass, so that I can understand it and react to it. That understanding and reaction are necessary before I can try to impose my thought and will on them. So my mental temperature varies with the environment, and for a while I allow it full rein, before I pull myself up lest I go astray. Sometimes a contrary reaction is produced in me by some untoward event, which affects me far more then because of my receptive mood.

With this experience behind me, I set myself out to understand the inner significance of the popular movement in Kashmir. People came to me to speak in praise of it or to criticize it, and I listened to them patiently and sometimes learned something from them. But my rod of measurement cared little for the incidents that seem to excite some people. I was not out to measure individuals, though to some extent that also had to be done, but to grasp what the mass of the people felt, what moved them, what they aimed at, though vaguely and semi-consciously, what strength they had developed, what capacity for united action.

I sensed that Kashmir was astir and the masses were on the move. That had been a common experience to me in many parts of India during the past twenty years. But it was an uncommon experience on that scale in an Indian State. There could be no doubt of the widespread awakening among the people, and of a growing feeling of self-reliance and strength. In this respect, in some ways, Kashmir seemed to be in advance. It was difficult to judge of the discipline and self-imposed restraint that accompanied this new-found strength. I think there was a measure of discipline also, though perhaps, not so much as in the more politically developed parts of India. Perhaps, also, that idealism, which has been so marked a feature of the Indian Nationalist movement, was not present to the same degree. The political awakening had not yet brought in its train that hard experience and close thinking which we had had elsewhere. That was natural, for the Kashmir movement was comparatively young, though even in its few years of life, it had gone through many an experience which had moulded it and given it shape.

Considering the brief life of this movement, I was surprised to find how vital and widespread it was, although I saw it during a period of quiescence. It had changed the face of Kashmir during these few years and if properly led and controlled, it held promises of great good for the country.

In its leadership it was fortunate, for Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was a real leader of the people, beloved of them, and with vision which looked ahead and did not lose itself in the petty conflicts of the movement. He was the founder and initiator of the movement. At first it began on communal lines and became entangled in many unfortunate occurrences. But Sheikh Abdullah pulled it out of these ruts and had the courage and statesmanship to steer it out of the narrow waters of communalism into the broad sea of nationalism. Dangers and difficulties still remain—which one of us is free from them—and he will have to steer carefully and to overcome them.

It was a remarkable feat for any person to have brought about this political awakening among the poverty-stricken and helpless people of Kashmir. It was still more remarkable to check it from overflowing into wrong channels, and to guide it with a strong hand along the right path. The difficulties were increased during the past three years by the growth of the communal spirit all over India, which inevitably had some effect on Kashmir also. Sheikh Abdulla performed these remarkable feats and rightly earned the tittle of "Sher-e-Kashmir," by which he is popularly known. He did not, and he could not, get rid of all the ills—communal or other—that a popular movement suffers from. But the measure of his considerable success is obvious enough in Kashmir to-day.

This movement has so far affected Kashmir proper far more than Jammu Province, which is partly allied to and affected by Punjab politics. In a sense Kashmir is a definite historical,

cultural and linguistic unit, and it was natural for a popular movement to spread there first without producing the same effect on Jammu. Kashmir proper has an overwhelmingly big proportion of Muslims in the population ; there are about 95 per cent of them. If Jammu Province is included, the Muslim proportion is reduced to about 75 per cent, which is substantial enough.

The Hindus of Kashmir proper, chiefly Kashmiri Pandits, though only about 5 per cent. are an essential and integral part of the country, and many of their families have played a prominent part in Kashmir's history for a thousand years or more. Even to-day they play a signficant part in the State Services and administration. Essentially these Kashmiri Pandits are the middle-class intelligentsia. Intellectually they compare very favourably with any similar group in India. They do well in examinations and in professions. A handful of them, who migrated south to other parts of Northern India during the last two hundred years or so, have played an important part in public life and in the professions and services in India, out of all proportion to their small numbers.

A popular mass movement, especially in Kashmir proper with its 95 per cent. Muslim population, was bound to be predominantly Muslim. Otherwise it would not be popular and would not affect the masses. It was also natural that the Hindu minority of 5 per cent should not view it with favour, both from the communal and the middle-classes point of view. Certain unfortunate occurrences and communal riots in 1931 added to these fears and suspicions. The Kashmiri Pandits, though small in number, impelled by a desire for self-protection, started organizing themselves as a communal group. Since then the situation has certainly improved, and, though fear and suspicion remain to some extent, the feeling of hostility is much less. This has been brought about by a keener appreciation of the realities of the situation as well as by Sheikh Abdullah's consistent policy to give the popular movement a national basis. A number of Kashmiri Pandits especially some bright young men, have definitely joined the National Conference. The great majority, however, hold formally aloof, though in no hostile sense, and a definite attempt to establish friendly relations is visible. I am leaving out of consideration the activities or reactions of individuals, who do not make much difference when considering the various currents and group forces at play.

IV

I imagine, though I have no definite data for that, the development of the Congress movement and of the Khudai Khidmatgars in the North-West Frontier Province had considerable influence on Kashmir during the last ten years. The two are adjoining territories and have many contacts and yet the Afghans and the Kashmiris differ from each other markedly. It is surprising that such close neighbours, who have lived next to each other for nearly a thousand years, should differ so much physically, intellec-

tually, culturally, and emotionally. But in spite of these differences there is much in common, and the political upheaval in the Frontier Province was bound to produce its reactions in Kashmir.

I was exceedingly fortunate, therefore, in having as my companion during the Kashmir visit Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who has been the cause of this political awakening in the Frontier and who symbolizes it so much in his own person. It was obvious that he was a favourite of the Kashmiris, as he has become of people in all parts of India "Fakhr-e-Afghan," or Badshah Khan, as he is popularly and affectionately known, was a delightful companion, though a hard taskmaster occasionally. Both the Frontier Province and Kashmir adjoin the Punjab. And they complain that it is the communal spirit of the Punjab that creeps in and creates friction and trouble, otherwise there would be communal harmony. This complaint is especially bitter against certain sections of the Punjab press, both Muslim and Hindu owned, which spread out into these adjoining territories, which have no proper newspapers of their own. As a reaction against this Press invasion from the Punjab, therefore, there is a tendency for Kashmir and the Frontier Province to hold together. These contacts are likely to grow, and I think they should grow, to the mutual advantage of both.

I address many great gatherings in Srinagar and outside, but I had gone to Kashmir more to learn and to understand than to teach. Two of the Srinagar meetings I addressed were held under the auspices of the National Conference, whose guest I was. Two others in Srinagar were held, under the auspices of the Yuvak Sabha, the organization of the Kashmiri Pandits, and one of these meetings, held at my particular request, was specially meant for the Panditanis.

I spoke at some length on the minority problem at the Yuvak Sabha meeting. I need not repeat what I said then, for it has been said often enough, but I warned them not to fall into the trap into which minorities so easily fell. I spoke frankly and freely, for, having been born in a Kashmiri Pandit family, I could take liberties with my own people.

While every individual and group deserved equal protection and help from the State, the idea of special safeguards for a minority group was full of peril for that group. For such safeguards led to dependence on extraneous help and weakened the group's spirit of self-reliance ; the special privileges amounted, in effect, to little, but they created walls of prejudice which injured the group, and barriers which prevented growth.

Above all, they led to a narrowness of outlook and to isolation from national activities and the life-giving currents which moved the masses. At any time such safeguards and special protection were dangeous gifts to ask or to receive. In the dynamic world of to-day, with vast revolutionary changes taking place before our eyes, it was folly of the first order to imagine that such safeguards or

privileges could hold and protect. Only strength of mind and purpose and unity of action could give some protection.

Safeguards and special protection might, perhaps, be needed by a group which was very backward educationally and economically. They were in the nature of crutches for the lame and the halt. Why should those who were keen of mind and swift of foot require them ? No one had ever accused the Kashmiri Pandits of lack of intelligence or of ability to adapt themselves to a changing environment. All that they should demand was a free and open field for talent and ability.

I pointed out to them what an outstanding part Kashmiris, both Hindu and Muslim, had played in the whole of India, although they were small in numbers. In public life, professions, services. In the States, in cultural activities, they had done remarkably well, without the least help or protection from anybody. Many of the Muslim Kashmiris are not known as Kashmiris, and so people do not appreciate this fact. But, as a matter of fact, Muslim Kashmiris are prominent in many walks of life in India. One famous name stands out above all others—that of the poet, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, who was a Sapru.

Kashmiri Pandits are more recognized in India as Kashmiris. They have done astonishingly well, although in numbers they are probably under five thousand outside Kashmir. I told my audience with becoming modesty, that during the fifty-five years of the life of the Indian National Congress, for seven years Kashmiri Pandits had been presidents—a remarkable record for a handful of people who had migrated from Kashmir to the plains below.

The whole question of minorities and majorities in India is tied up with foreign and third-party rule. Eliminate that rule, and the basic aspect of this question changes. That process of elimination is going on now.

So I spoke and said much else, laying especial stress on the need for every group, if it was to count in the future, to throw its weight on the side of the masses, to join the national movement and draw strength and sustenance from it. No group or community which was continually shouting about itself, and demanding this and that special privilege or protection, would make much difference to the future that was being shaped. That future would be shaped without it.

The women's meeting was an extraordinary sight. It rained heavily throughout, and the meeting was held in the open. I had imagined that the meeting would be abandoned. But for hours before the time of the meeting, thousands of women gathered and stood in the pouring rain, and when Badshah Khan and I got there these girls and young women and old women were standing in ankledeep mud and water. I am partial to the women of Kashmir. They are beautiful and full of charm, and there was many a bright

of women's problems, of what women had done and were doing in our national movement, of what their own kith and kin had done. And I urged them to rid themselves of the barriers of purdah, where such existed, and evil customs. The old orthodoxy must go, and the women of Kashmir, who were so eminently fitted in many ways, must play their part in the new India which we were all building together.

Wherever I went these women of Kashmir came to welcome me and to treat me as a brother or a son. It was a joy to meet them and to see the affection in their eyes. At Mattan, old Kashmiri ladies came to bless me and kiss me on the forehead, as a mother does to her son.

We spent three and a half days in Srinagar and then sought a week's respite in the higher valleys. The vale itself and the gardens and country round about Srinagar could have held me indefinitely, but I hungered for the mountains and the narrow paths over precipices and the glaciers. I wanted to crowd as much of experience and sensations as I could during these few days, to fill the storehouse of my memory with a picture gallery which I could visit at leisure when I chose to. Srinagar was also, inevitably, too full of engagements and interviews and meetings ; it repeated too much the old pattern of any life.

We went to Vernag and Achhabal, Anantnag or Islamabad, and Mattan or Martand. The weather was unkind and the rain pursued us but this did not prevent crowds gathering to welcome us, and often I had to say a few words to them in the pouring rain. I was tired and soaked to the skin when we reached Pahalgam in the evening. Pahalgam had grown since I had seen it last many years ago and was something much more now than a mere camping ground.

The next day we went, again to the accompaniment of rain, to Chandanwari on the Amarnath road. We went on horseback and on foot. Some of our party did not like this trip because of the rain, and returned tired, bored, and exhausted. But I felt exhilarated by the beating of the rain on my face, and I loved to watch the rushing mountain torrent, whose winding course we followed, leaving the party at Chandanwari. I went on some miles farther up with a friend. To my geat regret, we could not go, for lack of time, to the lovely mountain lake of Shishnag, which was the next stage on the journey to the cave of Amarnath.

We came back from Chandanwari to Pahalgam the same day, and early the next morning our caravan proceeded to Liddarwat, following the course of the Liddar River. There was a midday halt at Aru, a lovely camping-ground, and then to Liddarwat and a well-earned rest. The weather had cleared and we scanned the skies hopefully and anxiously, for the next day we were to go the Kolahoi glacier.

It turned out to be a fine clear day, and it was well that it was so, for the going was bad, over rocks and boulders and across

several small mountain streams. We reached the glacier at last and had our mid-day meal at its base. We then climbed up it for some distance, avoiding the pits and crevasses. We could not go far or stay long, as we had to hurry back to Liddarwat. But even that brief visit to the glacier was exhilarating and satisfied an old craving of mine.

The return journey was very tiring, and we reached our camp late in the evening. Badshah Khan was particularly exhausted, partly because he insisted on walking more than the others who struck to their hill ponies, as much as they could. But whether he was tired or not, the pace of his walk did not slacken, his stride was no shorter, and those of us who tried to keep step with him panted in despair and were gradually left behind. To see his six feet-two of Pathan manhood striding along those mountain-paths was a sight which impressed itself very forcibly on me, and this is the picture of Khan Sahab that comes most often to my mind.

During this trip to the Kolahoi glacier there were a number of small accidents, and almost every member of our party had a fall from horseback or on the glacier itself. I was one of the fortunate few who escaped.

The next day we decided to rest at Liddarwat; not quite, for we went on a tramp on the path which leads across the mountains to the Sind Valley. I wanted to go this way to visit Sonamarg on the other side, for the valley where Sonamarg is situated is a miracle of beauty. But in order to get there we had to go over a high pass which was not an easy matter at that time of the year. Our party was too big and the time at our disposal limited. This pass has the expressive name of Yamher—the ladder of death, or the ladder of Yama, the god of death. It is covered with slippery ice, which no doubt facilitates the passage to the other world.

So we gave up the idea of crossing over to the Sind Valley, but nevertheless we went a small part of the way and visited a number of Gujar encampments. These Gujars, semi-nomads, come up to these higher valleys during the summer with their cattle, in search of grazing-grounds. They build temporary shelters for themselves which could neither keep out the rain nor the cold wind. Sometimes they live under some overhanging rocks.

The Gujars were followed little later in the summer by another tribe, the Bherwalas, who came with thousands of sheep and pushed the Gujars and their cattle away to higher regions. Then armies of sheep covered the whole valley and the hillside, and ultimately the Gujars had to take refuge almost at the foot of the glaciers, till they came down to the lower valley at the end of the summer. As we were returning from Liddarwat the next day we passed these armies of sheep on the march, going up and up in search of pasture.

We visited many of these Gujar shelters, and to my surprise, we were welcomed everywhere. Ordinarily these people do not

take kindly to strangers, for the stranger and city dweller is to them a person who comes to exploit them. He buys their milk products cheap and sells city goods dear, and they are ever in his clutches because of debt. They are simple folk, not knowing reading or writing or arithmetic. They cannot keep accounts or check what the dealer from the city says to them. They are continually being cheated and exploited and live in extreme poverty.

But we were received in all friendship, probably because Sheikh Abdullah was with us and they had heard his name, possibly also because a good reputation had preceded us. In one of these shelters—about 30 feet by 20 feet—we enquired how many people lived there. No one knew ; they could not count thus far, and anyway, they had never bothered themselves about it. Then we proceeded on another line of enquiry. How many families lived there ? There were six or seven families. We enquired from the head of each family about his wife and children. And so we arrived at a total figure of fifty- three or fiftyfour for that one shelter. This was an unusually large shelter ; the others we visited were smaller.

We talked to these people and they spoke to us in a mixture of Hindustani and Punjabi. They were not Kashmiris and could hardly speak the Kashmiri language. They told us of their misery and poverty and of all their other difficulties. They invited us to break bread with them, and it was, perhaps, the best bread I have ever eaten. It was Makki ki-roti, and there was some thing of green *sag*, or vegetable, with it.

I do not know where the Gujars come from, to what racial stock they belong. But they were a fine-looking people, and their womenfolk had striking, clean-cut features. Their children were attractive, and Badshah Khan used to gather them and play with them for there is nothing he likes better than to have the little children of the poor about him. I remembered seeing him on many an occasion in the Frontier Province with a group of Pathan children clustering around him. His face was lighted up with affection for them, and the little ones looked with adoration on this Badshah Khan, who was their great big friend and leader.

The women of these Gujars looked one straight in the face, and there was little shyness or self-consciousness about them. In one shelter I was a little surprised when one of the ladies of the house came forward and, taking my hand, bade me welcome. She invited us to come inside and share their meal of bread and vegetable, which she had been cooking. That gesture of hers and her manner were so full of grace and self-assurance that I could well have imagined that some great lady was inviting me to her noble mansion.

Our visit to the Gujar shelters led to a minor crisis in our camp. Badshah Khan had a habit of filling his pockets with sweets and fruits to distribute to the poor children we met on the road. His stock soon gave out when we met scores of children in the shelters. So he invited them to come to our camp.

On our return he sent for our camp cook and demanded that he should produce all the foodstuffs he had, especially rice and flour and sugar. The cook was not very enthusiastic about this, and he returned with a small supply. Badshah Khan was not to be taken in, and he insisted on more. The cook pointed out that he had to feed a large party for another two days and he could not empty his limited stock. Our hosts also did not fancy the idea of having next to nothing left with us. But Badshah Khan insisted and said that anyway our party ate too much, which was perfectly true, and it would do us all a lot of good to have to put up with limited rations or even to starve for a day. There was no denying him and the cook had d toroduce much more.

The next day we returned from Liddarwat to Pahalgam. Four or five days we had been completely cut off from news of the outside world, just when mighty decisions were being made on the battlefields of Northern France. We got some belated news at Pahalgam and found how very grave the situation was.

After spending the night at Pahalgam, we motored to Srinagar. On the way we visited the ancient temple of Marand, and inside those massive and eloquent ruins local friends had made arrangements for sumptuous refreshment. Then to Anantnag or Islamabad, and a big meeting, or rather two. Another gathering at Brijbehara under the spacious chenar trees. The platform where I stood was erected round the most ancient and majestic of these noble trees with a girth of 55 feet at the base. It was about four hundred years old, we were told, and the course of this long span of history passed rapidly before me as I stood under its cool shelter. What strange happenings and revolutions and human follies it had witnessed during the centuries while men had come and gone, living their brief lives of joy and sorrow and generation had followed generat on, this king of trees had stood, surveying the human scene, unmoved and unperturbed.

Back to Srinagar. Packing and leave-taking, a party at the Amar Singh Club, where I met many old friends, and a final public meeting to bid goodbye to the people of Srinagar.

The next morning we left Srinagar and sped towards Jammu. The road left the valley and mounted up the Pir Panjal. As we went higher, the Panorama spread out before us and broader vistas came into view. We stood near the mouth of the tunnel and had a last look at the valley below. There lay the Vale of Kashmir, so famous in song and history, in its incomparable lovliness. A thin mist covered part of it, and a soft light toned down the hard edges of the picture. Above the clouds rose snow-capped peaks, and down from the valley below came the faint and distant sound of running water. We bade a silent farewell, and turning away with regret, entered the dark tunnel which took us to less favoured lands.

The night we spent at Kud on the Jammu road and met some friends there. The next morning to Jammu and the heat of the plains. Jammu gave us a great reception and an exhausting one for the sun was hot in the day-time. Processions, interviews, engagements, and finally a great meeting at night. This meeting was held in an old dried-up tank with steps all round, and this amphitheatre made a perfect setting for a big gathering. I was particularly pleased to see thousands of women at this meeting. Badshah Khan left us that evening for Peshawar, but Sheikh Abdullah and some other friends from Kashmir accompained us to Lahore, but there was business still on the way. At Sialkot there was a huge gathering, also in an old dried-up tank as in Jammu, and at Wazirabad another big public meeting.

And so to Lahore and new problems and difficulties. Here I left Sheikh Abdullah and other Kashmir friends who had been such close companions during the past fourteen days. They had overwhelmed us with their hospitality, and this companionship and comradeship had made us known and understand each other a little better.

Twelve days in Kashmir, twelve days after three-and-twenty years ! Yet one vital moment is worth more than years of stagnation and vegetation and to spend twelve days in Kashmir was good fortune indeed. But Kashmir calls back, its pull is stronger than ever, it whispers its fairy magic to the ears, and its memory disturbs the mind. How can they who have fallen under its spell release themselves from this enchantment ?

SECTION XVI

The Highway Imperialist

An imperialist is a highway man who need not lurk in the dark, solitary corners of the world. He is a broadway bandit and has guts to pounce upon his victims in the broad daylight. India has known much of this victimization. But now the cup of bitterness is full. And India can drink the liquor of imperialism no longer. Jawaharlal sees revolt in the air. This is a thought-provoking sheaf of thoughts from the utterances of Jawaharlal.

I

I cannot tell you here the whole history of Indian exploitation—how India is maltreated, repressed and plundered. It is a long and very sad story. And all that I can do is to bring to your notice one or two of the most important factors which we have to consider particularly in this International Congress. You have heard of various disturbances, massacres and random butcheries and most of you have heard of the Amritsar incidents. Do not believe that because this affair has given rise to greater uproar than many others, it is in any way the singular and the worst episode in the history of India since the Britishers came to us. They came to us, as you doubtless know, by putting one province against another until they finally established themselves firmly. During the whole period of their stay, they have followed the old policy of "Divide and Rule." I regret to have to say that they still follow this policy. The early history of their occupation is one of the wildest and the most shameless example we have ever seen in the history of the world. **Even the British historians, who are certainly not impartial, admit that the early history of India under British rule represents an epoch of predatory war—a period in which freebooters prowled about and committed plunders and robberies in the land in an unbridled manner.** You know perhaps also of the event which is known as the Sepoy Mutiny and which took place 70 years ago. It is called so but if fate had willed otherwise and the so-called rebels had been crowned with success, then to-day it would have been called the Indian War of Independence. What we have to say in all this, is that Amritsar was absolutely nothing in comparison with what took place during the Sepoy Mutiny. But since then such things have been constantly taking place, even

to-day random firing is not infrequent. Numberless comrades and friends of ours are detained in prison without any accusation and without any trial. Many of our best comrades in India have made jail their real home, or they are in exile and cannot come back to their fatherland.

This gives rise to a little sensation but the real injury by the Britishers in India, the real exploitation, is much more severe than the shootings and hangings, which occasionally give rise to some disturbance and the systematic method in which workers, labourers and farmers are being exploited had made India what it is to-day. **We read in history, not only of the ancient times, but also of the modern period, of the riches of India. India has allured by her riches the most different people from the different extremities of the world, but now if one goes to India, the most horrible poverty stares him in the face.** There he finds that most of the population do not know where they will get their next meal and frequently they do not get it at all. Everywhere one meets these hungry people or these half-fed people. This is the India of to-day. No statistics, facts or numbers are wanted to convince you of this, that India has suffered terrible economic decline and that if definite steps are not taken to prevent this process India will altogether cease to exist as a nation. You know perhaps how a few years ago (immediately after their advent) the Britishers applied the most ruthless methods to render their industries profitable for themselves. In those days, the new doctrine of guardianship over the Indian people was not mentioned. Our repression was not less severe but it was frank, we had a ruthless and open exploitation and oppression of all Indian industries. It was bad enough, but worse followed gradually inasmuch as our ancient system of education was destroyed and we were disarmed. **In multifarious ways the spirit of Indian people was destroyed and it was attempted to take away from them every capacity for active and constructive work. The conscious policy of Britishers in India was to attempt to divide us. After they have disarmed us, now they say we are not fit to protect our country ; after extinguishing our system of education they have set in its place something which is ridiculously meagre and which teaches us false history and tries to educate us in the hatred of our own country and in the glorification of England. After all these, they tell us now that we have not sufficient culture to be a free nation.** —*Brussels, February 10, 1927.*

II

THE SILENT REVOLUTION

A well-known English writer, G. K. Chesterton, has said somewhere that the greatest event of the nineteenth century in England was the revolution which did not happen. You will remember that on several occasions during that century England was on the verge of revolution—that is, a social revolution brought about by the petty bourgeoisie and the workers. But always the

ruling classes yielded just a little at the last moment; gave an outward share in the parliamentary structure by extending the vote, and also gave a small share in the profits of imperialist exploitation abroad, and thus kept down the impending revolution. They could afford to do so because of their expanding empire and the money they made out of it. **The revolution therefore did not take place in England, but its shadow frequently lay over the country, and the fear of it shaped events. Thus a thing that did not actually happen is said to have been the greatest event of the last century.**

FINANCIAL LEADERSHIP

After the war when America stopped helping England, the pound fell in value a little. England was then faced by a difficulty. Was she to accept this natural fall in the value of the pound and fix the pound at this new value ? This would have helped industry by cheapening goods, but it would have caused loss to the bankers and creditors. More important still, it would have put an end to London's position as the financial centre of the world. New York would then step into this position, and borrowers would go there instead of coming to London. The alternative was to force up the pound to its original value. This would raise the prestige of the pound and London would continue its financial leadership. But industry would suffer and, as the event proved, many other undesirable things would happen.

The British Government chose the latter source in 1925 and raised the pound to its former gold value. Thus they sacrificed to some extent their industry to their bankers. The real issue before them was a more important one still, for it vitally affected the continuance of their empire. **If London lost the financial headship of the world, the various parts of the Empire would not look to it for leadership or help, and the Empire would gradually melt away. So that the question became one of imperial policy, and this wider imperialism won at the cost of British industry and immediate domestic interests.** It was in this same way, you may remember, that imperial considerations induced Britain to encourage the industrialization of India after the war, even at some cost to Lancashire and British industry.

THE SHELL OF NATIONALISM

The modern industrial world has really advanced beyond the stage of nationalism. The whole machinery of production of goods and distribution does not fit into the nationalist structure of governments and countries. The shell is too small for the growing body inside, and it cracks.

—(*The Glimpses of World History*)

III

The British Empire thus became a curious medley of two types of countries : the self-governing countries, which later became the free dominions, and the dependencies and protectorates. The former were more or less family members acknowledging the headship

of the mother-country, the latter were definitely the servants and slaves of the establishment, looked down upon, ill-treated and exploited. The self-governing dominions consisted of British people or other Europeans and their descendants, the dependencies were all non-British, non-European. This difference between the two parts of the British Empire has persisted till now.

THE LAMB IN THE LION

For the present, however, the union must necessarily be the union of the lion and lamb with the lamb inside the lion. This is evident if we study the relations of England with other countries like China, Persia, Mesopotamia and Egypt. She has opposed all attempts at freedom of these countries and only recently we had an amazing example for her imperial policy in independent Egypt. Even in regard to the countries of Europe, she is acknowledged to be the main obstacle to world-peace and co-operation. It is inconceivable, therefore, that India can have a real measure of freedom within the limits of the British Empire and you will welcome, I am sure, the resolution of the Madras Congress laying down our goal as complete national independence. This does not mean ill-will to England or to any other country, but it is a condition precedent to our future growth and to the development of peaceful relations with other countries including England. The Madras Congress resolution is important specially because it attacks the psychology of submission and slavery and helplessness, which generations of foreign rule have developed in us. It prepares our minds for the will to be free without which freedom cannot come even to-day. **There are so many of us who take an academic interest in Indian freedom, who whilst they talk of freedom feel no inner urge for it. Doubts and difficulties assail them and fear born of a slave psychology hampers their efforts.** We are told of the dangers that India may have to face in the event of England leaving us to our own resources, of the fear of foreign invasion and of our inability to cope with it. But it is not realised that the strength that succeeds in enforcing India's will on England also succeed in protecting India from other foreign incursions. It is not felt keenly enough that we are even now suffering under a foreign invasion and the future cannot bring any greater disaster to us. Not to get rid of our present domination because of future problematical dangers is the height of fear and weekness. But what external dangers will face us when the British leave India ? We have an Indian army, brave and efficient, well-tried in many continents. It is good enough to fight for the freedom of the Allies in the battle-fields of Europe and it will be good enough to fight if necessary for the freedom of India. When freedom comes we shall develop our army and strengthen it and make it more efficient than it is to-day.

The strength of the country not only depends on the internal situation and the balance of power. Poland, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Hungay, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Jugoslavia, Portugal, Bulgaria, Roumania and many other countries are inde-

pendent, but not one of them can withstand one great power. Even the great powers cannot separately cope with a combination against them; but they remain independent, because none dare attack them for fear of complications. The other country could not tolerate that the rich prize of India should fall again to another power. But what power could indeed threaten us? France, Germany and Italy are too much involved in their mutual hatred and jealousies and are too afraid of each other to trouble us at all. The United States of America are too far away for effective action. Japan has to face hostility of the United States and even of the Western European Powers and cannot dare embark on a new adventure which would be fraught with the greatest risks for her. Afghanistan is strong in defence but weak in attack and it is inconceivable that with its limited resources it can do us any harm. It may at most carry out a number of successful raids before we can defeat it and hold it in check. But there is absolutely no reason why we should have any such relations with Afghanistan. Russia remains the sole danger but even this is largely imaginary, as every one knows, or ought to know, that no country is in greater need of peace than Russia. The Great War, the civil war, the famine and the blockade have shaken her foundations and done her tremendous injury. She has made much good for her losses but above everything else she desires peace to build up the new social order she has established. Experts tell us that although strong in defence she is weak in attack. Her whole government is based on the good-will of the workers and the peasantry and she cannot count on this good-will in an oppressive campaign. She has so many enemies that she dare not of her own accord start an invasion of India and leave her western flanks exposed to attack. Nor has she any economic reason to covet India. **India and Russia are too alike to help each other much. Both are largely agricultural countries with raw materials and markets. She wants capital and machinery and India can supply neither. We thus see that no danger threatens India from any direction and even if there is any danger we shall be able to cope with it.**

It may be, however, that we are unable to cope with it and go down in the struggle. That risk must be faced as it has been faced by every brave people in history. Because of risk, we cannot give up our birthright or take the shameful position of asking for the British help to defend our country and liberty. We must make it clear that on no account are we prepared to have the British forces in our country. The alien army of occupation must be withdrawn.

It is said that by laying stress on Independence, we antagonise other parties in the country just when the need for the unity was the greatest. **Unity is certainly most desirable, but can unity be achieved by the sacrifice of our principles? Our opponents and even those of our colleagues for whose sake we sacrifice**

our principles will respect us the less for it. Let us respect even sentiments and the prejudices of others. But let us not give in on any matter which we consider vital. The Congress has already shown its desire to co-operate whenever it can with our groups and parties without giving up our ideals and our goal. We have co-operated whole-heartedly with others for the boycott of the Simon Commission and are to-day co-operating with numerous groups in the All-Parties Conference. We could give no greater evidence of our goodwill, and our tolerance cannot extend to sacrifice of the principle and the goal ; and the ideal we have set before us is too vivid to be forgotten or discarded for a temporary compromise. We have to travel the road together respecting each other and it may be that when we reach the cross-roads we may have converted many others to our view. If we fail to do so we would agree to differ and part company without rancour, or ill-will.

(*May 1928*)

IV

One thing more I refer to and that is the question of the Indian States. We have had recently a very illuminatory address by the Maharaja of Bikaner. Among various revealing statements he has made, perhaps the most revealing is his clear declaration that in case of a future war between India and England, he will whole-heartedly support England against his own country. I do not think you will require any comment from me on this amazing declaration. If the Maharaja had lived in England or France or Germany or the United States or indeed any other country and had made such a declaration, what kind of reception do you think would it have had ? The Maharaja is perhaps living mentally in the middle ages and still thinks of the divine right of kings and imagines like the French king of old, *L'etal c'est moi*. But the King who said this is long departed and a republic exists in his country, and in England the king is but a figure-head without the least power. **It would be well for our princes and chieftains to remember that the days of kings and princes are past. This leads us to another conclusion. In drawing up programme of work we must see what classes and groups in the country stand to gain special privileges by the freedom of India and what stand to lose them. Let us be quite clear in our minds about this and having made this distinction let us draw up a programme for the former group.** The latter can never be a help to us and in a moment of crisis may turn against us and do us great injury. An attempt to satisfy them and include them in our programme is imprudent not only on equitable grounds but also from the point of view of expediency.

SECTION XVII

A Gallop into the Golden age

In the following selection of passages, Jawarhalal gives us a joy-ride into the golden past of India, and brings us back to the brazen British days. Nehru has the knack of summing up the significance of great ages in a few pithy sentences. In a few paragraphs we gallop through from the prehistoric times up to the present decades. Jawaharlal is a an historian with the poetic suggestiveness of Keats. Did Jawaharlal desire only to delve into the graves of the past, he would have easily lived to be the Macaulay or the Gibbon of India. Jawaharlal loves history of the past as much as politics of the present.

I

When the Aryans entered India, India was already civilized. Indeed, it now appears certain from the remains at Mohen-jo-daro in the north-west that a great civilization existed here for a long time before the Aryans came. But about this we do not know much yet. Probably within a few years we shall know more, when our archaeologists—the men who make a special study of old ruins—have dug out all that there is to be found there.

ARYAN SETTLEMENT

Let us go back to old India. You know that what is Afghanistan to-day was then, and for a long time afterwards, a part of India. The north-west of India was called Gandhara. All over the north, in the plains of the Indus and the Ganges, there were big settlements of the Aryans. These Aryan immigrants probably knew the art of building well, for many of them must have come from the Aryan settlements in Persia and Mesopotamio, where there were many forests and especially between North India and the south there was a great forest. It is unlikely that any large numbers of Aryans crossed this forest to settle down in the south. But many individuals must have gone to explore and to trade and to carry the Aryan culture and traditions to the south. The old tradition tells us that the First Aryan to go to the south was the Rishi Agastya who carried the message of Aryan religion and culture to the Deccan.

Opposite Anand Bhawan is Bharadwaj Ashram. You know it well. Perhaps you also know that Bharadwaj is supposed to have been a very learned man in the old days of the Ramayana, and Ramachandra is said to have visited him during his exile. It is stated that thousands of pupils and students lived with him. There must have been quite a university, with Bharadwaj as its head. In those days the Ashram was on the banks of the Ganga. This is very likely although now the river is nearly a mile away. The soil of our garden is, in some places, very sandy, and may have been part of the bed of the Ganga in those days.

ASHOKA THE GREAT

So ruled Ashoka for thirty-eight years, trying his utmost to promote peacefully the public good. **He was always ready for public business "at all times and at all places, whether I am dining or in the ladies' apartments, in my bedroom or in my closet, in my carriage or in my palace gardens, the official reporters should keep me constantly informed of the people's business."** If any difficulty arose, a report was to be made to him immediately "at any hour and at any place," for, as he says "work I must for the commonweal."

CHANDRA GUPTA

What was happening in other parts of the world when the Guptas held sway in India? Chandragupta the First was the contemporary of Constantine the Great, the Roman Emperor who founded Constantinople. During the times of the later Guptas, the Roman Empire split up into the Eastern and Western, and the Western was ultimately overthrown by the northern "barbarian" tribes. **Thus, just about the time when the Roman Empire was weakening, India had a very powerful State with great generals and mighty armies.** Samudra Gupta is sometimes spoken of as the "Indian Napoleon," but, ambitious as he was, he did not look beyond the frontiers of India for his conquests

The Gupta period was one of aggressive imperialism and conquest and victory. But there are many such imperialistic periods in the history of every country, and they have little importance in the long run. What makes the Gupta times stand out, however, and worthy of being remembered with some pride in India, is the wonderful renaissance of art and literature which they witnessed.

THE HUN WAR

The Huns ruled northern India for a very short time—less than fifty years. Afterwards they settled down peacefully. But the Hun wars and their frightfulness made a great impression on the Indian Aryans. **Hun methods of life and Government were very different from those of the Aryans. The Aryans were still in a large measure a freedom loving race. Even their kings had to bow down to the popular will, and their village assemblies had great power.** But the coming of the Huns and their settling down and mixing with the Indian people made some difference to these Aryan standards and lowered them.

VILLAGE REPUBLICS

The strength and perseverance of India in the past seem to have lain in her widespread system of village republics or self-governing panchayats. There were no big landlords and no big zamindars, such as we have to-day. Land belonged to the village community or panchayat or to the peasants who worked on it. And these panchayats had a great deal of power and authority. They were elected by the village folk, and thus there was a basis of democracy in this system. **Kings came and went, or quarrelled with each other, but they did not touch or interfere with this village system or venture to take away from the liberties of the panchayats. And so while empires changed, the social fabric which was based on the village system continued without great change.** We are apt to be misled by the accounts of invasions and fighting and change of rulers into thinking that the whole population was affected by them. Of course, populations were sometimes affected, especially in the north of India, but on the whole, it may be said that they worried little and carried on in spite of changes at the top.

INDIA PAID FOR BRITISH WARS

As the British Empire grew in India there were many more wars with the Marathas, Afghans, Sikhs, Burmans, etc. But the unique thing about these wars was that although they were carried on for England's benefit, India paid for them. No burden fell on England or the English people. They only reaped the profit.

Remember that the East India Company – a trading company—was governing India. **There was growing control by the British Parliament, but, in the main, India's destinies were in the hands of a set of merchant adventurers. Government was largely trade, trade was largely plunder.** The lines of distinction were thin. Enormous dividends of 100 per cent. and 150 per cent. and over 200 per cent. per year were paid by the Company to its shareholders. And, apart from this, its agents in India picked up tidy little sums, as we have seen in the case of Clive. The officials of the Company also took trade monopolies and built up huge fortunes in this way with great rapidity. Such was the Company's regime in India.

FLICKER OF FEUDALISM

The Revolt of 1857-58 was the last flicker of feudal India. It ended many things. It ended the line of the Great Moghal, for Bahadur Shah's two sons and a grandson were shot down in cold blood, without any reason or provocation, by an English officer, Hodson, as he was carrying them away to Delhi. Thus, ignominiously ended the line of Timur and Babar and Akbar.

The Revolt also put an end to the rule of the East India Company in India. The British Government now took direct charge, and British Governor-General blossomed out into a "Viceroy". Nineteen years later, in 1877, the Queen of England took the title of "Kaiser-i-Hind", the old title of the Caesars and of the Byzantine Empire, adapted to India. The Moghal dynasty was no more. But the spirit and even symbols of autocracy remained, and another Great Moghal sat in England.

THE LONDON OF INDIA

Clive has described the city of Murshidabad in Bengal in 1757 as a city "as extensive, popular, and rich as the city of London, with this difference, that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last." This was in the very year of Plassey when the British finally established themselves in Bengal. At the very moment of political downfall, Bengal was rich and full of many industries, and sending out her fine fabrics to different parts of the world. The city of Dacca was especially famous for its fine muslins, and did a huge export trade in them.

The tyranny of the British, we say. Whose tyranny is it, after all? Who profits by it? Not the whole British race, for millions of them are themselves unhappy and oppressed. And undoubtedly there are small groups and classes of Indians who have profited a little by the British exploitation of India. Where are we to draw the line, then? It is not a question of individuals, but that of a system. We have been living under a huge machine that has exploited and crushed India's millions. This machine is the machine of the new imperialism, the outcome of industrial capitalism. The profits of this exploitation go largely to England, but in England they go almost entirely to certain classes. Some part of the profits of exploitation remain in India also, and certain classes benefit by them. It is therefore foolish for us to get angry with individuals, or even with the British as a whole. If a system is wrong and injures us, it has to be changed. It makes little difference who runs it, and even good people are helpless in a bad system. **With the best will in the world, you cannot convert stones and earth into good food, however, much you may cook them. So it is, I think, with imperialism and capitalism. They cannot be improved; the only real improvement is to do away with them altogether.** But that is my opinion. Some people differ from this. You need not take anything for granted, and, when the time comes, you can draw your own conclusions. But about one thing most people do agree: that what is wrong is the system, and it is useless getting annoyed with individuals. If we want a change, let us attack and change the system. We have seen some of the evil effects of the system in India. When we consider China and Egypt and many other countries we shall see the same system, the same machine of capitalist-imperialism at work, exploiting other people.

—*Glimpses of World History.*

II

THE GREAT DAYS

In 1920 and 1921 we were full of faith and confidence, we did not sit down to debate and argue. We knew we were right and we marched on from victory to victory. **We felt the truth in us and every fibre of our being thrilled at that idea of our fighting for right and fighting in a manner unique and glorious. Those were brave days, the memory of which will endure and be cherished possessions for all of us.** Then our leader left us and weak and unstable and inconstant, we began to doubt and despair. The faith of the old went and with it much of our confidence. There followed a year of strife and dispute and mutual recrimination, and all our energy was diverted to combating and checkmating our erstwhile comrades in the rival camp, Pro-changer and No-changer. No-changer was not behind the Pro-changer in forgetting the basic lesson of non-violence and charity and in imputing the basis of motives to persons of a different way of thinking. We failed to keep even our tempers, how then could we exercise right judgment ? And gradually Non-violent non-co-operation began to lose some of its fundamental features and for many became an empty husk devoid of a real significance.

The Delhi Congress, it is said, has brought out a compromise between the two rival schools of thought and put an end to this long agony. If the Congress results in ending bitterness and suspicion and re-introducing in our politics charity of judgment and non-violence in our thought, then indeed it has largely succeeded. But I do not think that it is correct to describe the principal resolution of the Congress as a compromise resolution. They were only so in so far as certain groups acquiesced in them. I do not think there can be any real or stable compromise between the two principal view points which have been fighting for mastery in the country. They are fundamentally different. They are both honourable methods and their advocates are brave men and keen thinkers but nonetheless they differ radically.

The Delhi Congress, it has been remarked, marks the end of non-co-operation. I wonder at any one who had lived through the last three or four years in India making this assertion. It passes my comprehension, how even a resolution of the Congress can put an end to a mighty movement. **If India has at all imbibed the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, if even a group of men remain true to that gospel, then non-co-operation cannot die. And if all of us are utterly unworthy of this teaching and incapable of acting in accordance with it, even then a subsequent generation will wield the mighty weapon and prove to the world that this is the only and the best way which ensures true freedom and ends strife. Non-violent non-co-operation cannot die. It has gone beyond the boundaries of our country and is the property of the world.**

I shall not presume to criticise the Delhi Congress, but I do think that several of its decisions were opposed to the movement as started by Mahatma Gandhi; they were contrary to the basic principles, as stated by Mahatmaji, or non-violent non-co-operation. That of course is no reason why we should not change our programme, if we are otherwise convinced that a change is necessary. But even from the point of view of the original programme, I welcome the Delhi decisions They do mean a going back and it is always difficult and painful to do so when one believes firmly in the old method. But I believe that this going back or rather this permission to others to go back was necessary at this stage. It may have been possible for those who believed in this to get a verdict from the Congress against any change. I ut I doubt if this would have done much gcod to non-co-operation. I am not in the least afraid of the difference of opinion amongst ourselves. That must continue. But I confess to have experienced a feeling of humiliation, when I saw that our noble movement, nurtured on high ideals and voluntary suffering, was being converted into two party causes, each devoting its money and energy to raising delegates who would lift up their hands at the bidding of their leaders. **Non-co-operation will prosper not by resorting to such western political methods and manoeuvres, but by its utter purity and straightness and by its appeal to the masses.** I almost wish that the Calcutta Special Congress in 1920 had not accepted the non-co-operation policy and programme. This acceptance overwhelmed us from the very beginning and the weight of numbers paralysed us. We could then have marched in a compact body, strong in our faith and in our discipline and at the right moment have converted the masses and the Congress to our view-point. The process was reversed and we have suffered accordingly. The basis of non-co-operation is direct action and this involves continuous suffering. No one can expect large masses of people to suffer. Only the elect can do that and the masses can sympathise with them occasionally for a short while. If the Congress really represents the people, it is natural that it should attempt to go back a little to some kind of constitutional action whenever large numbers of people are tired of direct action. To the eager, ever ready for the fray, this is painful. But there is no room for despondency. Only a heavier burden is cast on those who have to keep the method of direct action always before the people; they have to fight on while the main army will not fail them. And so I am content with the Delhi decision. Any attempt to force the issue would have had unhappy results.

What then is our aim and what should be our means? Our creed is short and simple, but it shelters many interpretations. We have made it abundantly clear that we have not the slightest interest in provincial autonomy or the transfer of subjects in the Government of India. **Full internal freedom means that we must control the finances and the army and the police. So long as we do not control these, we have no freedom in India. This**

is the minimum. But the question has arisen whether we should not define Swaraj in our creed as independence. Personally I shall welcome the day when the Congress declares for independence. I am convinced that the only proper and right goal for India, is independence.

I am not desirous of changing the Congress creed at this stage. This would give rise to unnecessary debate and controversy and might narrow the Congress and exclude some people. Let us keep the Congress open for all. When the people have thoroughly grasped and approved of the idea, the change in the creed will automatically follow. Till then it is not desirable to force a change.

—Oct, 13, 1923.

III

PEACEFUL NATIONALISM

In India the last fourteen years have been very full ones, and have seen an aggressive and yet a peaceful nationalism. Soon after the war, when expectations of great reforms ran high, we had martial law in the Punjab and the horrible massacre of Jallianwala Bagh. Anger at this and Muslim resentment at the treatment of Turkey and the Calliphate led to the non-co-operation movement of 1920-22 under Gandhi's leadership. Indeed, from 1920 onwards Gandhi has been the unquestioned leader of Indian nationalism. **This has been the Gandhi Age in India, and his methods of peaceful revolt, by their novelty and efficacy, have attracted the world's attention.** After a spell of quieter activities and preparation, the fight for freedom began again in 1930, with the definite adoption by the Congress of the goal of independence. Since then we have had, off and on, Civil Disobedience and overflowing prisons and the many other things that you know of. Meanwhile the British policy has consisted of petty reforms to win over some people if they can, and an attempt to crush the nationalist movement.—

—April 26, 1983.

BANKRUPT'S CREED

Armed rebellion seemed out of the question for the Indian people. We were disarmed, and most of us did not even know the use of arms. Besides, in a contest of violence, the organized power of the British Government, or any State, was far greater than anything that could be raised against it. Armies might mutiny, but unarmed people could not rebel and face armed forces. **Individual terrorism, on the other hand, the killing by bomb or pistol of individual officers, was a bankrupt's creed.** It was demoralizing for the people, and it was ridiculous to think that it could shake a powerfully organized government, however much it might frighten individuals. As I have told you, this kind of individual violence was even given up by the Russian revolutionaries.

—May 11, 1923.

IV

THE WORLD DRAMA

We have the long and painful heritage of European domination in Asia. British may believe or proclaim that she has done good to India and other Asiatic countries, but the Indians and other Asiatics think otherwise, and it is after all what we believe that matters now. It is a terribly difficult business to wipe out this past of bitterness and conflict, yet it can be done if there is a complete break from it, and the present is made entirely different. Only thus can those psychological conditions be produced that lead to co-operation in a common endeavor and release mass effort.

It was in this hope that the National Congress issued a long statement in September, 1939, defining its policy in regard to the European war and inviting the British Government to declare its war aims in regard to imperialism and democracy and, in particular, to state how these were to be given effect in the present. For many years past the Congress had condemned Fascist and Nazi doctrines and the aggressions of the Japanese, Italian, and German Governments. It condemned them afresh and offered its co-operation in the struggle for freedom and democracy. But it stated : **"If the war is to defend the status quo of imperialist possessions and colonies, of vested interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it.** If, however, the issue is democracy and world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it. The Committee is convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or world democracy. But there is an inherent and ineradicable conflict between democracy for India, or elsewhere, and imperialsim and fascism. If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possessions and establish full democracy in India and the Indian people must have the right of self-determination to frame their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly without external interference, and must guide their own policy. A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic co-operation."

That offer was made two and a half years ago and it has been repeated in various forms subsequently. It was rejected—and rejected in a way that angered India. The British Government has made it clear beyond a doubt that it clings to the past ; and present and future, in so far as Britain can help it, will resemble that past. It is not worth while to dwell on the tragic history of these two and a half years that have added to our problems and the complexity of the situation. Events have followed each other in furious succession all over the world and, in recent months, parts of the British Empire have passed out of England's control. And yet, in spite of all this, the old outlook and methods continue and England's statesmen talk the patronizing language of the ninteenth century to us. We

are intensely interested in the defence of India from external aggression but the only way we could do anything effective about it is through mass enthusiasm and mass effort under popular control.

We cannot develop our heavy industries, even though wartime requirements shout out for such development, because British interests disapprove and fear that Indian industry might compete with them after the war. For years past Indian industrialists have tried to develop an automobile industry, airplane manufacture and shipbuilding—the very industries most required in wartime. The way these have been successfully obstructed is an astonishing story. I have been particularly interested in industrial problem in my capacity as Chairman of the National Planning Committee. This Committee gathered around it some of the ablest talent in India—industrial, financial, technical, economic, scientific—and tackled the whole complex and vast problem of planned and scientific development and co-ordination of industry, agriculture, and social services. The labours of this committee and its numerous sub-committees would have been particularly valuable in wartime. Not only was this not taken advantage of but its work was hindered and obstructed by the government.

Two and a half years ago we had hoped to be able to play an effective role in the world drama. Our sympathies were all on one side; our interest coincided with these. Our principal problem is after all not the Hindu-Moslem problem, but the planned growth of industry, greater production, juster distribution, higher standards, and thus gradual elimination of the appalling poverty that crushes our people. It was possible to deal with this as part of the war effort and co-ordinate the two, thus making India far stronger, both materially and psychologically, to resist aggression. But it could only have been done with the driving power that freedom gives. It is not very helpful to think of these wasted years, now that immediate peril confronts us and we have not time, as we had then, to prepare for it. We may have to meet this peril differently now, for in no event do we propose to submit to aggression.

—*Day of Reckoning.*

SECTION XVIII

The Knots of Freedom

It is not easy to define freedom in practical politics. Many quarrels take place when we come to clarify words. Some men give preference to Dominion Status without understanding its implications. But no body gives preference to slavery. All nationalists are unanimous that the British must quit. It matters little by which door they quit. In the following quotations Jawaharlal has unravelled all knots of freedom which have beset the minds of petty politicians.

I

The cry of independence is no new cry in India. From the day that our country fell under an alien rule, there have always been people who have dreamed of independence struggle and worked for it and sacrificed their all for it. What was the great struggle of 1857, but a war of independence consecrated by many gallant deeds and heroic sacrifices and also darkened by misdeeds which brought failure in their train. Here in this city of Jhansi the mind dwells lovingly on that chip of a girl who knowing no fears went out to struggle and die against over-whelming odds for the glory of India and her womanhood.

As generation has succeeded generation there has been no lack of men and women who have refused to bow their heads and bend their knees before the alien ruler. For that disobedience they paid a very heavy price but the gallant stream went on and increased in volume. Memories are short and we are apt to forget the deeds of the past. But even the present generation in which we live has been full enough of golden and inspiring deeds. Were the youngmen and old, who faced death and long imprisonment, thinking of the mirage of Dominion Status or of full-blooded freedom ?

PEACE MEANS SUBMISSION

No living nation under alien rule can ever be at peace with its conqueror. For peace means submission and submission means the death of all that is vital in the nation. And India has shown her vitality by the endless sacrifices her sons and daughters have made to free her from alien rule. India cannot be at peace with England till she has attained her freedom. That

is the psychological, the fundamental reason for our desiring and working for independence. This freedom cannot come by our becoming partners, even if that were possible, of that imperialist concern which is called the British Empire, and we have realised, or ought to realise that imperialism and freedom are poles apart. The day England sheds her imperalism, we shall gladly co-operate with her. But do you see any signs of it? Or are you simple enough to imagine that we can reform her from within by first entering her Empire or Commonwealth? England to-day is the arch-priest of imperialism and perhaps the worst offenders are those of her Labour Party who have the remarkable capacity for combining tall talk about freedom and self-determination with full-blooded imperialism.

It is not England that is our enemy. It is imperialism and where imperialism is, there we cannot willingly remain.

But you do not require arguments from me in favour of independence. You have been the leaders in this movement inside the Congress organisation and you may well take pride in the fact that the lead you gave has been followed by the Congress itself.

We have so far laid stress on political independence. It is now time for you to take the lead again and declare what you mean by independence. **We are told by some people that the Congress must not concern itself with matters other than political. But life cannot be divided up into compartments, nor indeed can politics itself ignore the other functions of society.** The problem before us is to build a free society and to do that you must consider and seek to change social and economic conditions. What manner of independence is it which results in starvation for many and the exploitation of millions? Independence must necessarily involve freedom from all exploitation and to bring this about you must attack everything in your society which helps the exploiter. That is also a powerful reason why we cannot be satisfied with Dominion Status for that is bound to result in giving a dominant position to foreign capital and foreign capital means foreign exploitation.

THE DOUBLE DUTY

The problem before us is therefore two-fold, firstly to chalk out an economic and social programme which will provide freedom for the masses, and then to indicate the manner of creating sanctions to enforce our programme.

But before we consider programme let us be clear about our aims and our general outlook. Most of us talk about serving the masses and relieving their poverty, although we seldom have any but the vaguest of notions as to how to do it. We imagine that wise the coming of Swaraj, the masses are bound to benefit. This is partly true no doubt but it is by no means certain that they will do so. Our very method of referring to the masses betrays that we think ourselves something apart from them. By virtue of our intellects or

our material possessions we consider ourselves the natural leaders of the masses. It is "we" and the "masses" and if any conflict arises between the two we naturally attach more importance to our own interests. We are convinced that we are the chosen of the land and on our worthy shoulders has fallen the burden of freeing this country and incidentally of bettering our own position.

LEADERSHIP

This is the way we think consciously or unconsciously. It is the way of hypocrisy. Let us not talk of serving the masses when our principal object is to serve our own class. Therefore in drawing up programmes we must keep the interests of the masses uppermost and sacrifice everything else to them. For it is the masses who really are the nation. On their prosperity depends the prosperity of the country. Not only it is just that our programme must keep the interests of the masses uppermost but it is highly necessary and expedient from other points of views also. Only thus can we raise the sanction which can enforce their will. But to give effect to that programme we shall have to subordinate ourselves and give the predominant place in our movement to the representatives of the masses. Thus only can we make it a real mass movement. **Only those who are themselves interested in an economic change can effectively bring it about. The leadership and effective control of the movement must therefore ultimately pass to those who are most exploited to-day.** They will stumble and fall and make many mistakes but they will have the driving force of economic necessity behind them and this is bound to carry them to victory. Bereft of this driving force, our politics are bound to become, as they have indeed become, a jumble of resolutions and processions and shouting with no action behind them. Swaraj will not be obtained by scoring lawyer's points or by forensic eloquence.

I have repeatedly said that to my thinking the only solution for our many ills is socialism. Socialism therefore must be our aim Some of you may perhaps think, not without reason, that we canno reach it at one bound and it is necessary to have a lesser immediate programme. It is not easy to draw up this programme at a conference and I would earnestly recommend that this conference should appoint a committee to do it. I shall merely indicate here some important matters which should be considered for inclusion in the conference.

—*October, 1928.*t

II

The time has indeed already come when the All-Parties Repor has to be put aside and we march forward unfettered to our goal. You will remember their solution of the last Congress which fixed a year of grace for the adoption of the All-Parties Scheme. That year is nearly over, and the natural issue of that decision is for this Congress to declare in favour of independence and devise sanctions to achieve it.

THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION

That year has not brought Dominion Status or the All-Parties Constitution. It has brought instead suffering and greater repression

of our national and labour movements, and how many of our comrades are to-day forcibly kept away from us by the alien power. How many of them suffer exile in foreign countries and are refused facilities to return to their motherland. **The army of occupation holds country in its iron grip, and the whip of the master is ever ready to come down on the best of us who dare raise their heads.** The answer to the Calcutta resolution has been clear and definite.

Recently there has been a seeming offer of peace. The Viceroy has stated on behalf of the British Government that the leaders of Indian opinion will be invited to confer with the Government on the subject of India's future constitution. The Viceroy meant well and his language was the language of peace. But even a Viceroy's goodwill and courteous phrases are poor substitutes for the hard facts that confront us. We have sufficient experience of the devious ways of British diplomacy to beware of it The offer that the British Government made was vague, and there was no commitment or promise of performance. Only by the greatest stretch of imagination could it be interpreted as a possible response to the Calcutta resolution. Many leaders of various political parties met together soon after and considered it. They gave it the most favourable interpretation, for they desired peace and were willing to go half-way to meet it. But in courteous language they made it clear what the vital conditions for its acceptance were. Many of us who believed in independence and were convinced that the offer was only a device to lead us astray and create division in our ranks, suffered bitter anguish and were torn with doubt. Were we justified in precipitating a terrible national struggle with all its inevitable consequences of suffering for many when there was even an outside chance of honourable peace? With much searching of heart we signed that manifesto, and I know not to-day if we did right or wrong. Later came the explanations and amplifications in the British Parliament and elsewhere, and all doubt, if doubt there were, was removed as to the true significance of the offer. Even so your Working Committee chose to keep open the door of negotiation and left it to this Congress to take the final decision.

During the last few days there has been another discussion of this subject in the British House of Commons, and the Secretary of State for India has endeavoured to point out that successive Governments have tried to prove, not only by words, but by deeds also the sincerity of their faith in regard to India. We must recognize Mr. Wedgwood Benn's desire to do something for India and his anxiety to secure the goodwill of the Indian people. But his speech and the other speeches made in Parliament carry us no further. "Dominion Status in action," to which he has drawn attention, has been a snare for us, and has certainly not reduced the exploitation of India. The burdens on the Indian masses are even greater to-day because of this "Dominion Status in action" and the so-called constitutional reforms of ten years ago. **High Commissioners in London and representatives on the League of Nations, and the purchase of stores, and Indian Governors and high officials are no parts of our demand. We want to put an**

end to the exploitation of India's poor and to get the reality of power and not merely the livery of office.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn has given us a record of the achivements of the past decade. He could have added to it by referring to Martial Law in the Punjab and the Jallianwala Bagh shooting and the repression and exploitation that have gone on continually during this period of "Dominion Status in action." He has given us some insight into what more of Dominion Status may mean for us. It will mean the shadow of authority to a handful of Indians, and more repression and exploitation of the masses.

What will this Congress do? The conditions for co-operation remain unfulfilled. Can we co-operate so long as there is no guarantee that real freedom will come to us? Can we co-operate when our comrades lie in prison and repression continues? Can we co-operate until we are assured and real peace is sought after and not merely a tactical advantage over us? Peace cannot come at the point of the bayonet, and if we are to continue to be dominated over by an alien people, let us at least be no consenting parties to it.

If the Calcutta resolution holds, we have put one goal to-day that of independence. Independence is not a happy word in the world to-day, for it means exclusiveness and isolation. Civilization has had enough of narrow nationalism and gropes towards a wider co-operation and interdependence. And if we use the word independence we do so in no sense hostile to the larger ideal. Independence for us means complete freedom from British domination and British imperialism. Having attained our freedom I have no doubt that India will welcome all attempts at world co-operation and federation and will even agree to give up part of her own independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member.

The British Empire to-day is not such a group, and cannot be so long as it dominates over millions of peoples and holds large areas of the world's surface despite the will of their inhabitants. It cannot be a true commonwealth so long as imperialism is its basis and the exploitation of other races its chief means of sustenance. **The British Empire to-day is indeed gradually undergoing a process of political dissolution. It is in a state of unstable equilibrium. The Union of South Africa is not a very happy member of the family, nor is the Irish Free State a willing one. Egypt drifts away. India could never be an equal member of the Commonwealth unless imperialism and all it implies is discarded.** So long as this is not done, India's position in the Empire must be one of subservience, and her exploitation will continue. The embrace of the British Empire is a dangerous thing. It cannot be the life-giving embrace of affection freely given and returned. And if it is not that, it will be, what it has been in the past, the embrace of death.

HOMAGE TO PEACE

There is talk of world peace and pacts have been signed by the nations of the world. But despite pacts armaments grow and beautiful language is the only homage that is paid to the goddess of peace. Peace can only come when the causes of war are removed. So long as there is the domination of one country over another, or the exploitation of one class by another, there will always be attempts to subvert the existing order, and no stable equilibrium can endure. **Out of imperialism and capitalism peace can never come. And it is because the British Empire stands for these, and bases itself on the exploitation of the masses, that we can find no willing place in it.** No gain that may come to us is worth anything unless it helps in removing the grievous burdens on our masses. The weight of a great empire is heavy to carry, and long our people have endured it. Their backs are bent and down and their spirit has almost broken. How will they share in the commonwealth partnership if the burden of exploitation continues? Many of the problems we have to face are the problems of vested interests, mostly created or encouraged by the British Government. The interests of rulers of Indian States, of British officials, and British capital and Indian capital, and of the owners of big zamindaris are ever thrust before us, and they clamour for protection The unhappy millions who really need protection are almost voiceless, and have few advocates. So long as the British Empire continues in India, in whatever shape it may do so, it will strengthen these vested interests and create more. And each one of them will be a fresh obstacle in our way. Of necessity the Government has to rely on oppression, and the symbol of its rule is the secret service with its despicable and contemptible train of agents provacateurs, informers and approvers.

WORDY WAR

We have had much controversy about independence and Dominion Status, and we have quarrelled about words. But the real thing is the conquest of power by whatever name it may be called. I do not think that any form of Dominion Status applicable to India will give us real power. A test of this power would be the entire withdrawal of the alien army of occupation and economic control. Let us, therefore, concentrate on these and the rest will follow easily.

We stand, therefore, to-day for the fullest freedom of India. This Congress did not acknowledge and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way. To it we make no appeal. But we do appeal to the Parliament and conscience of the world, and to them we shall declare, I hope, that India submits no longer to any foreign domination. To-day or to-morrow we may not be strong enough to assert our will. We are very conscious of our weakness, and there is no boasting in us or pride of strength. But let no one, least of all England, mistake or under-rate the meaning or strength of our resolve. Solemnly,

with full knowledge of consequences, I hope, we shall take it and there will be no turning back. A great nation cannot be thwarted for long when once its mind is clear and resolved. If to-day we fail and to-morrow brings to success, the day after will follow and bring achievement.

We are weary of strife and hunger for peace and opportunity to work constructively for our country. Do we enjoy the breaking up of our homes and the sight of our brave young men going to prison or facing the halter? Does the worker like going on strike and losing even his miserable pittance and starving? He does so by sheer compulsion when there is no other way for him. And we who take this perilous path of national strife do so because there is no other way to an honourable peace. But we long for peace, and the hand of fellowship will always be stretched out to all who may care to grasp it. But behind the hand will be a body which will not bend to injustice and a mind that will not surrender on any vital point.

With the struggle before us the time for determining our future constitution is not yet. For two years or more we have drawn up constitutions, and finally the All-Parties Committee put a crown to these efforts by drawing up a scheme of its own which the Congress adopted for a year. The labour that went to the making of this scheme was not wasted, and India has profited by it. But the year is past and we have to face new circumstances which require action rather than constitution-making. Yet we cannot ignore the problems that beset us and that will make or mar our struggle and our future constitution. We have to aim at social adjustment and equilibrium, and to overcome the forces of disruption that have been the bane of India.

III

ONWARD TO FREEDOM

The members of the committee, whose report we are considering, have been good enough to commend a little bit of drudgery that I performed for them. It is a little ungracious of me to criticize their work, especially as, perhaps, I know more than any one else how hard they worked on this report.

Why was the committee appointed? We all know that it was appointed principally to find a solution for our communal difficulties. We were faced at Bombay by an impasse and no way out was visible then. Therefore this committee was appointed and not so much because it was necessary to draft a fine constitution. Their report testifies to the measure of success that they have attained in finding this solution.

It is a fair solution, just to all parties, and I earnestly trust that the conference will accept it.

Some of the other proposals that the committee has made are to my thinking not so happy. I am specially unable to reconcile

myself to Dominion Status and all its implications. What is the meaning of the resolution that we are considering? The preamble tells us that it is open to us to carry on activity and propaganda for independence. But this is a mere flourish, meaning little. **The second part of the resolution really commits every organisation and every individual for it to Dominion Status. The speeches in support of the motion, and specially that of the mover, made this even clearer. I wondered when I was listening to them, whether I was not attending a session of the Congress a generation ago. They embodied an ideology of a past age utterly out of touch with facts and realities to-day.** We were told of the injustice in not having Indian governors, Indians in the services and in the Railway Board. Is this what we have met here for? Is this our idea of freedom? It seems to me that we are drifting back from the 20th century to the ways and methods of the 19th.

We are told that we must be practical, and being practical is taken to mean adherence to an outworn set of ideas regardless of the changes that have happened in the world. The mover of the resolution told us that he had learnt his politics from John Stuart Mill and Green, the author of the Short History of the Indian People. Eminent men they were, but may I remind him that they are dead and gone and much has happened since then? They are dead as Queen Anne, as Charles I, as Louis XVI of France and as last Czar of Russia. The world has moved and changed, and if we are to be practical, let us take stock of the changes that the world has brought. What does the British Commonwealth of Nations, as it is now called, stand for? It stands for one part domineering over and exploiting the other. There are England and the self-governing dominions exploiting India, parts of Africa, Malaya and other parts of the world. When we obtain Dominion Status are we going to get promotion from the exploited part to that of the exploiting? Are we going to assist England and the other Dominions in exploiting Egypt and Africa? The thing is inevitable. Dominion Status for India must necessarily mean the break up of the British Empire as it is to-day.

SWEET REASONABLENESS

Then again we are told that Dominion Status may be obtained by consent, Independence only after an appeal to arms of force. I do not know if any one here imagines that Dominion Status is going to be achieved by sweet reasonableness and logic. If so, all I can say is that he is a very credulous individual. Dominion Status or Independence, both require a sanction behind them, whether that is the sanction of armed force or non-violent force. You will get Dominion Status the moment you make it clear to the British people that unless it is granted they will stand to lose much more. You will get it when they feel that it will be hell for them in India unless they agreed to it. You will not get it by logic or fine phrases. In matters of this kind justice and logic have little place. Therefore both for Independence and Dominion Status, a

sanction and a force of some kind is necessary. Consent only follows the creation of the sanction. It cannot come without it. Alternatively, if Dominion Status can be the result of an agreement between India and England, I see no reason why Independence also should not be agreed to between them. **We may agree to certain safeguards, if necessary, for British interests, not because we consider that the British are entitled to any safeguards, but as the price of peace in order to avoid bloody warfare and great suffering.** Perhaps it is easier for me to co-operate with the British people than it is for many of those who talk of Dominion Status, but I cannot co-operate on their terms. I shall co-operate with them on equal terms only, when I have some sanction and force behind me.

I am, therefore, interested much more in the creation of this sanction than a fine constitution. Do it by all means, but remember that in order to enforce it, you must have a sanction and that applies both to Dominion Status and Independence. **Do not be under any delusion that Dominion Status is a matter of consent and easily obtainable and that Independence is much more difficult of attainment and can come only through war.** If India gets Dominion Status, it necessarily follows that we fit our foreign policy with the foreign policy of England, that we support England in Egypt, China and elsewhere. Indeed, the report makes it clear that there should be a joint imperial policy. Are you prepared to be tied to the chariot wheels of England in this way? Dominion Status involves co-operation between India and England.

Let us consider the various groups in England to-day. Are you going to co-operate with my Lord Birkenhead and Winterton or with Mr. Lloyd George of the 'steel frame' fame, and his great supporter in the press, the Manchester Guardian, which has called this report, that we are considering, a piece of lunacy? Or will you co-operate with the valiant Jix, the Home-Secretary in England, who among his merits—and they are few—has certainly the quality of frankness, who stated that the English people had come to India, not for the benefit of India but to fill their own pockets? Or will you co-operate with the sanctimonious and canting humbugs who lead the Labour Party in England? For my part, I would prefer to deal with the Birkenhead crowd than with Macdonald and Co. **Whom, then, do you co-operate with in England? Nobody will have you, nobody will deal with you, but still you go on repeating the worn-out formula of making offers and compromises and convincing the British people.** You will never do so, till you develope the sanction and enforce your will. Therefore, I say to you with all humility that to talk of Dominion Status is to delude ourselves and to give the country an entirely wrong lead. The only practical goal is that of independence, and it is bad policy and worse tactic to agree in any shape or form to Dominion Status, even for a while and even as a compromise.

There is a talk of unity amongst various parties and undoubtedly the gathering here is a very representative gathering. But I

would beg of you to remember that we represent largely the intelligentsia of this country only. We represent directly at any rate, the two or three or five per cent in this country only. The whole country, as we all know, has been convulsed this year by labour troubles. Strikes and lock-outs and shootings and the terrible misery involved in all these and the peasant troubles have taken place in different parts of the country. Yet what do you find in the report in regard to these matters? There is hardly anything except a few good principles in the Declaration of Rights and elsewhere. Only a few days ago the Government produced a measure, a Trade Disputes Bill, which is intended to stifle and prevent labour organization. What have we to say in regard to it? Still more recently, a new measure has been produced to deal, it is said, with Bolshevik agitators in the country. He must be a simple enough person who imagines that a few Bolsheviks and the like or even hundreds of them can create all this labour trouble and present trouble in India. This measure is meant to apply to non-Indians, But we all know that there are enough measures in the Statute Book, like the Bengal Ordinance, which can be made to apply to Indians. There is no necessity for any further enactments to apply to Indians. This has been and is the consistent policy of England towards India.

Do you think it is right for us to claim Dominion Status and to put our seal in a way to this policy? I do submit that it would be a wrong thing and a fatal thing for India to make Dominion Status as our objective. Those of us who think with me have carefully considered this resolution and we have definitely come to the conclusion that we cannot support it. We do not desire, however, to hamper the work of this conference, because we feel that the principal work it has before it is the settlement of the communal issue. We are prepared to help in so far as we can in the settlement of this problem. We have, therefore, decided to dissociate ourselves entirely with this resolution and not to have anything to do with it by way of amendment or otherwise. If you will permit me, sir, I shall read out the statement which I have already placed in your hands on behalf of a number of members of this conference. The statement runs as follows :—

"We, the signatories of this statement, are of opinion that the Constitution of India should only be based on full independence. We feel that the resolution that has been placed before the All-Parties Conference definitely commits those who support it to a constitution based on what is termed Dominion Status. We are not prepared to accept this and we, therefore, cannot accept or support this resolution. We recognise that the preamble to the resolution gives us the right to carry on activity in favour of Independence, but this preamble does not in any way lessen the commitment contained in the second part of the resolution. We have decided, however, not to obstruct or hamper the work of this conference, but we desire to record our considered opinion on this question and to dissociate ourselves with this

particular resolution in so far as it commits us to the acceptance of Dominion Status. We shall not take any part in this resolution by moving amendments or by voting on it. We propose to carry on such activity as we consider proper and necessary in favour of Complete Independence." —*August, 1928.*

IV

THE ACID TEST

But the declaration, however good, is not enough, for no one believes in promises or is prepared to wait for the hereafter. Its translation into present and immediate practice will be the acid test. A full change-over may not be immediately possible, yet much can be done now. **In India, a change-over can take place without delay and without any complicated legal enactment. The British Parliament may pass laws in regard to it or it may not. We are not particularly interested, as we want to make our own laws in the future.** A provisional national government could be formed and all real power transferred to it. This may be done even within the present structure, but it must be clearly understood that this structure will then be an unimportant covering for something that is entirely different. This national government will not be responsible to the British Government or the Viceroy but to the people, though of course it will seek to co-operate with the British Government and its agents. When opportunity offers in the future, further changes may take place through a constituent assembly. Meanwhile it may be possible to widen the basis of the present central assembly and make it a representative assembly to which the provisional national government will be responsible.

If this is done in the central government, it would not be at all difficult to make popular governments function in the provinces where no special changes are necessary and the apparatus for them exist already.

All this is possible without upsetting too suddenly the outer framework. But it involves a tremendous and vital change, and that is just what is needed from the point of view of striking popular imagination and gaining popular support. Only a real change-over and realization that the old system is dead past revival, that freedom has come, will galvanize the people into action. That freedom will come at a moment of dire peril and it will be terribly difficult for any one to shoulder this tremendous responsibility. But whatever the dangers, they had to be faced and responsibility had to be shouldered.

The changes suggested would give India the status of an independent nation, but a peaceful change-over presumed mutual arrangement being made between representatives of India and Great Britain for governing their future relations. I do not think that the conception of wholly sovereign independent nations is compatible with world peace. But we do not want international

co-operation to be just a variation of the imperial theme with some dominant nations controlling internal and international policies. The old idea of Dominion Status is unlikely to remain anywhere and it is peculiarly applicable to India. But India will welcome association with Britain and other countries, on equal basis as soon as all taint of imperialism is removed.

In immediate practice, after the independence of India is recognized, many old contacts will continue. The administrative machinery will largely remain apart from individual cases, but it will be subject to such changes as will make it fit in with new conditions. The Indian Army must necessarily become a national army and cease to be looked upon as a mercenary army. Any future British military establishment would depend on many present and changing factors, chiefly the development of the war. It cannot continue as an alien army of occupation as it has done in the past, but as an allied army its position would be different.

It is clear that if the changes suggested were made India would line up completely with the countries fighting aggression. It is difficult, to prophesy what steps would be most effective at this particular juncture. If the military defence of India now being carried on beyond her frontiers proves ineffective, a new and difficult military situation arises that may require other measures. Mr. Gandhi, in common with others, has declared that we must resist aggression and not submit to any invader, but his methods of resistance are well-known. These peaceful methods seem odd in this world of brutal warfare. Yet in certain circumstances, they may be only methods left us. The main thing is that we must not submit to aggression.

One thing is certain : whatever the outcome of this war, India is going to resist every attempt at domination and a peace that has not solved the problem of India will not be of long purchase. Primarily this is Britain's responsibility but its consequences are worldwide and affect this war. No country can therefore ignore India's present and her future, least of all America on whom rests the vast burden of responsibility, and toward whom so many millions look for right leadership at this crisis in world history. —(*Day of Reckoning.*)

SECTION XIX
A Combat in Cotton

This is the story of 1930 when India have had a combat with Britain in cotton. By the magic wand of Mahatma Gandhi, boycott of foreign cloth became an instrument of Satyagraha. Jawaharlal issued several statements to the press and also a heroic statement in the court when he was tried for criminal intimidation and extortion. Ideas that flowed from the pen of Jawaharlal in those dauntless days breathe a spirit of immortal resistence. Boycott of the British was an essential milestone on India's march to freedom.

I

Statement Issued to the Press Regarding Boycott of Foreign Cloth

Nothing has been more remarkable during the past few months than the success of the boycott of foreign cloth. This success has been primarily due to the response of the Indian public. It has also been due to the co-operation of the merchants all over India and I shall like to express my appreciation of their patriotic efforts in this behalf. Recently it has been pointed out by some of these merchants that they had suffered considerable loss and they have asked for permission to sell the old stocks of foreign cloth with them. In some places local Congress office-bearers have entered into some kind of compromise for fixed periods. I should like to point out to all Congress Committees, Congress office-bearers, merchants and the public generally that it would be exceedingly harmful to the interests of our country if this boycott were slackened in the least at this stage. Everybody knows what is happening in India to-day. From day to day new ordinances come and thousands are arrested. Only two days ago a great offensive was launched by the British Government on the Bombay Congress. We welcome these offensives because we know they are the signs of weakening and defeat on the other side. At the same time it is incumbent on us at this present moment to stiffen our boycott and to make it complete. On no account must there be the slightest slackening. No Congress office-bearer or Committee has any right or authority to enter into a compromise on this subject. The boycott of foreign cloth is indeed so important that it is better for other Congress activities to suffer, but it must be kept in the fore-front.

I have no doubt that when our friends, the merchants, realise the critical situation in which we are placed to-day, they will give

us the same co-operation which they have done. The public, I feel certain, will stick to its resolve to boycott foreign cloth whatever the consequences. In particular I appeal to the merchants of the great importing centres of Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Amritsar, Karachi and Cawnpore. **Those who stand by the nation to-day in this life and death struggle cannot be forgotten by a grateful country when victory comes. Those who line themselves with the enemy must be prepared for the consequences of their action.**

—18th October 1930.

II

Statement Issued to the Press Regarding Khadi.

The remarkable success of the boycott of foreign cloth has naturally resulted in greatly increased sales of Khadi. So great was the demand for Khadi at one period that it could not be met and appeals were made to the public to reduce their consumption of cloth. Efforts were also made to increase Khadi production and these efforts met with great success. Our present production of Khadi is far in excess of what it was a few months ago and the All-India Spinners' Association is in a position to meet all demands on it. There is no necessity therefore to restrict one's purchases of Khadi any longer. Considerable stocks are accumulating and those who wish to encourage Khadi work should help in the disposal of these stocks so that we may go on increasing our production at a rapid rate.

In this connection I should like to warn people against purchasing spurious cloth which is specially made coarse so as to resemble Khadi. In order to avoid this the best course is to purchase from recognised dealers certified by the All India Spinners' Association.

I have noted with regret that certain mills have manufuctured this spurious Khadi. I would appeal to all mill-owners to refrain from naming, stamping or styling cloth manufactured in their mills as Khadi and also to refrain except for drills, satins, tussores, twills, jacquards and the like from manufacturing cloth under 18 counts yarn. To merchants I would appeal not to sell any cloth as Khadi cloth unless it bears the stamp of the All India Spinners' Association or an organization certified by the A. I. S. A.

—19th October 1930.

III

A Statement in the Court in 1922 regarding boycott of foreign cloth.

I am making this statement not in order to defend myself against the various charges brought against me but to define my position and to state the motives which have induced me to act in the manner I have done. I have refused to plead guilty or not guilty, and I have declined to participate in this trial by cross-examination of witnesses or otherwise. I have done so because I do not recognise this Court as a court where justice is administered. I mean no disrespect to the presiding officer when I say that so far as political

offences are concerned, the courts in India merely register the decrees of the executive. They are being used to-day even more than ever before to prop up the fabric of a government which has misgoverned India long enough and which has to resort to these tactics now in an attempt to restore a prestige which is gone for ever.

I stand here charged with criminal intimidation and abetment of an attempt to extort. The warrant of my arrest bears also the familiar Section 124-A, although I am not being tried for it to-day. I propose, however, to make a comprehensive statement. I cannot divide myself up into various compartments, one for picketting, another for sedition and have but one end in view and that I have striven to attain with all the strength and energy that is in me.

Less than ten years ago, I returned from England after a lengthy stay there. I had passed through the usual course of public school and university. I had imbibed most of the prejudices of Harrow and Cambridge, and in my likes and dislikes I was perhaps more an Englishman than an Indian. **I looked upon the world almost from an Englishman's standpoint. And so I returned to India as much prejudiced in favour of England and the English as it was possible for an Indian to be.**

To-day, ten years later, I stand here in the dock charged with two offences and with a third hovering in the background—an ex-convict who has been to jail once already for a political offence, and a rebel against the present system of government in India. That is the change which the years have wrought in me. It is not necessary for me to recite the reasons for this change. Every Indian knows them ; every Indian has felt them and has hung his head in shame for them. And if he has retained a spark of the old fire in him, he has taken a solemn pledge to strive unceasingly for India's freedom, so that his countrymen may never again be subjected to the miseries and humiliations that are the lot of a subject people. **To-day sedition against the present government in India has become the creed of the Indian people, to preach and practise dis-affection against the evil which it represents, their chief occupation.**

I am charged with criminal intimidation and attempted extortion. I have wondered if these charges were seriously meant. The sections of the code which have been applied bear no relation to the facts even as disposed by the prosecution evidence. I presume that the single success that has attended our efforts in Allahabad has induced the authorities to take some action against the picketters. If peaceful picketting for a lawful object is a crime, then, indeed I am guilty of having advised it and helped it. But I have yet to learn that peaceful picketting has become an offence even under the laws of British India. Our object in picketting was to make the cloth-dealers adhere to the pledge they had jointly taken. Does any one believe that we could achieve success in this by criminal intimidation and extortion ? **All the world knows that our strength lies in support of our people and the goodwill of our countrymen. Our weapons are not the old time ones of force and coercion. The**

weapon which our great leader has put in our hands are those of love and self-sacrifice. We suffer ourselves and by our suffering seek to convert our adversary.

Criminal intimidation involves a threat of injury to a person or his property, and injury denotes harm "illegally" caused. So also extortion must include the putting of any person in fear of "injury" and thereby "dishonestly" inducing him to part with property. I have listened to the prosecution evidence with interest in order to find out on what ground these novel charges were based. What was the injury to any person or property that was the harm "illegally" caused? Wherein lay the dishonesty of any of us? I have not heard a single allegation yet made, much less proved which suggests that we have caused injury to any person or property, caused any harm illegally or acted dishonestly. Not a single prosecution witness, including the police and the C. I. D. has made such an allegation. In the whole of Allahabad there was found no person of the thousands who must have witnessed the picketting, who could bring the charge of any intimidation against us or even a harsh word uttered by one of our picketters. No greater proof of our triumph can be given than this unsought testimony of the police and C.I.D. **Our picketting has been, I make bold to say, a model of its kind, perfectly peaceful perfectly, courteous, relying on entreaties and exhortations and not even hinting at force or intimidation.** The cloth-dealers, who are alleged to have been intimidated by us, are presumably the aggrieved party. But not one of the them has complained.

Ten months ago the cloth-dealers of Allahabad took a solemn pledge to refrain from purchasing foreign cloth till the end of 1922 All the signatories to the pledge, and they included almost every cloth-merchant in the city, constituted themselves into an association styled the Vyapari Mandal and elected office-bearers and a committee. The first business of the Mandal was to lay down that every member who broke his pledge and purchased foreign cloth would have to pay a certain penalty and in case he refused to do this, picketting would be resorted to. The committee of the Mandal was to determine in each individual case how much foreign cloth had been bought and what the penalty was to be. On several occasions during the past year the Mandal committee considered such breaches of the pledge and imposed and received fines in accordance with their rules. Occasionally at their request picketting was also resorted to. Two months ago a large quantity of foreign cloth was purchased by some of cloth-dealers in Allahabad. This was in contravention of the pledge and the shops of some of these cloth-dealers were picketted. Later, the committee of the Vyapari Mandal newly-reconstituted, assessed the fines on the merchants who had broken their pledges and themselves collected this money, which lies at the disposal of the Mandal. To the best of my knowledge two of the gentlemen who have given evidence for the prosecution in this case are members of the committee of the Mandal, and as such they must have themselves helped in the assessment and collection of the fines.

These are the facts relating to picketting in Allahabad. It is clear beyond doubt that there was neither any intimidation nor any attempt at extortion. The present prosecution is really an attempt to suppress lawful and peaceful picketting under cover of intimidation and extortion. Picketting has been going on all over India for many months. It has taken place in many cities and bazars in the province. Here in this very city of Allahabad we have repeatedly resorted to it. And yet Government took no action against it as such. They knew well that in India as in England peaceful picketting is no crime. Of course, it is open to them by stroke of the pen to make even peaceful picketting illegal. But whether they do so or not, they should give it up. To entreat and exhort and advise others that they should follow a certain line of action or to abstain from doing something is a right which we will not abandon, whatever the Government may do. **We have few rights and privileges left in this country and even these are sought to be taken away.** We have shown to world how we value the right of free association, and we have continued our volunteers in spite of thousands of arrests and all Government notifications to the contrary. We will not and we cannot submit to any restriction of our right of free speech. A quarter of a century ago, a great English judge stated in the House of Lords with reference to this right of speach, "A man has a right to say what he pleases, to induce, to exhort, to command, provided he does not slander to deceive or commit any other of the wrongs known to the law of which speech may be the medium. Unless he is thus shown to have abused his right, why is he, to be called upon to excuse or justify himself because his words may interfere with some one else in his calling". This right of free speech we shall cling to, whatever the cost.

I am glad for many reasons that I am being tried for picketting. My trial will bring the question of the boycott of foreign cloth even more to the front and I am confident that when the people of Allahabad and the province realise the full significance of this boycott, they will discard all foreign cloth, treat it as unholy and the touch of it almost as pollution. If they pondered over the evils and the misery and the poverty that foreign cloth has brought to this long-suffering country, perhaps they would feel some of the horror I feel, at the thought of wearing it. They will not bring forth arguments that old clothes have to be worn out or that festivities require fine clothing. They would know that the salvation of India and her hungry millions demanded the use of the charkha and the wearing of khaddar, and they would cast out all foreign cloth and consign them to the flames or to the dust-bin. I pray that the cloth-merchants of Allahabad will adhere to their sacred pledges twice taken, and do their utmost to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth in this ancient and holy city. **Some of these cloth-dealers have given evidence for the prosecution in this case. I have no grievance against them. I shall suffer most gladly any imprisonment that may be awarded me if I know that thereby I have touched their hearts and won them over to the great cause.** And I would appeal to the public for this city and province and earnestly request them to do this much for their country—wear khaddar and ply the charkha.

My co-accused and I are charged with intimidation and extortion. I should like the police and Government officials to examine their own conscience, to search deep down into their hearts and say what many of them have done during the past year and a half. Intimidation and terrorism, bribery and extortion, have been going on over the length and breadth of the province. And the persons guilty of them have not been Congressmen or our volunteers but the underlings of the Government who have indulged in them frequently with the knowledge and approval of their superiors. Yet they are not tried or punished. They are patted on the back and praised and promoted.

My colleagues, and I have seen and personally investigated acts of terrorism and inhumanity. We have seen how men and women have been subjected to the uttermost humiliation. We have seen how terror reigns in Sitapur. We have investigated the brutalities of Shoratganj and we know how hundreds of Ballia's gallant workers have been sent to jail for the sole offence of being Congress office-bearers or other principal workers of the Congress. And we have seen the poor down-trodden kisans with the haunted hopeless look in their eyes, working away like the beasts of the field from morning to nightfall, so that others may enjoy the fruits of their labour. We have seen them harassed and made utterly miserable. Their life became almost too heavy to be borne. I need not refer to individual districts. Almost every one of them has the same sad and splendid tale to tell.

Intimidation and terrorism have become the chief instruments of the Government. By these methods they seek to keep down people and to suppress their disaffection Do they imagine that they will thus instil affection for themselves in the people or make them loyal instruments of their imperialism ?

Affection and loyalty are of the heart They cannot be purchased in the market-place, much less can they be extorted at the point of the bayonet. Loyalty is a fine thing. But in India some words have lost their meaning and loyalty has come to be almos a synonym for treason to the motherland and a loyalist is he who is not loyal to his God or his country but merely hangs on to the coat-tails of his alien master. To-day however, we have rescued the word from the depths of degradation and in almost every jail in India will be found true loyalists who have put their cause and their faith and their country above everything else and have been true to them despite all consequences. To them has come the call ; they have seen the vision of freedom and they will not rest or turn away till they have achieved their heart's desire. England is a mighty country with her armies and her navies, but to-day she is confronted with something that is mightier. Her armies and her navies have to face the suffering and the self-sacrifice of a nation determined to be free and no man can doubt what the issue of such a struggle must be. **We are fighting for our freedom, for the freedom of our country and faith. We desire to injure no nation or people.**

We wish to have no dominion over others. But we must be perfectly free in our own country. England has cruelly wronged us during the past 150 years or more. And even yet she has not repented and mended her ways. India gave her a chance a year and a half ago, but in the pride and arrogance of her physical might she has not taken it. The people of India have tried her and they have passed judgment and from that decree there is no turning back. India will be free, of that there is no doubt, but if England seeks the friendship of a free India, she must repent and purge herself of her many sins, so that she may be worthy of a place in the coming order of things.

I shall go to jail again most willingly and joyfully. Jail has indeed become a heaven for us, a holy place of pilgrimage, since our saintly and beloved leader was sentenced. Big-bodied, great-hearted Shaukat Ali, bravest of the brave and his gallant brother are there and so are thousands of our co-workers. One feels almost lonely outside the jail, and selfishness prompts a quick return. Perhaps I shall be awarded a long term of imprisonment this time. Whether this is so or not, I shall go with the conviction that I shall come out to greet Swaraj in India.

I have said many hard things about the British Government For one thing, however, I must offer it my grateful thanks. It has given us a chance of fighting in this most glorious of struggles. Surely few peoples have had such an opportunity given them. And the greater our suffering, the more difficult the tests we have to pass, the more splended will be the future of India. India has not survived through thousands of years to go down now. India has not sent her noblest and best twenty-five thousand of her sons, to the jail to give up the struggle. India's future is assured. Some of us, men and women of little faith, doubt and hesitate occasionally, but those who have vision can almost see the glory that will be India's.

I marvel at my good fortune. To serve India in the battle of freedom is honour enough. To serve her under a leader like Mahatma Gandhi is doubly fortunate. But to suffer for the dear country! What greater good fortune could befall an Indian, unless it is death for the cause or the full realisation of our glorious dream?

IV

Message to the Men and Women of the Frontier Province.

During the last seven months India has witnessed many a deed of heroism and self-sacrifice. It is difficult indeed to enumerate them or to give a list of the brave men and women who have given their lives or suffered exceedingly so that India may be free. On my discharge from prison I have taken the earliest opportunity to pay my reverent homage to all these heroes. I should like, however, to make special mention of our brave comrades of the Frontier Province who, right at the beginning of the great struggle, gave an exhibi-

tion of peaceful courage and wonderful sarifice at which India and the world have marvelled. I have read with amazement and admiration the record of their doings and their sufferings in the Patel Enquiry Rèport. The Pathans are known to be brave fighters but they have shown that even in our non-violent struggle, they can take the lead and set an example which is not easy to emulate. I would therefore like to send my greetings and my homage to all our comrades of the Frontier Province, whether in prison or outside. The dead are no longer with us, but their memory lives and will live.

There used to be in past years, talk of petty reforms in the Frontier Province. To day we are not fighting for reforms, but for independence. Our comrades of the Frontier have shown in the fire of suffering what metal they are made of. Out of our common suffering we shall fashion free India in which all of us including the Frontier Province will be equal successors. The men and women of the Frontier Province have purchased by their blood and suffering a full right to this freedom. For the brave no gift can be too much and those who know how to die know also how to live as free men.

Men and women of the Frontier, you have written a golden page in Indian history. That will be an inspiration for us and we shall remember it in the long days to come. India cannot forget those who helped to make her free.

17-10-1930. *Jawaharlal Nehru.*

SECTION XX

Shoulder to Shoulder

Left to themselves, the people of India can fight shoulder to shoulder in the historic march to freedom. The disunity between Hindus and Muslims is due to artificial causes created by the exigencies of foreign imperialism. If the British quit India they will find communalism in their bag and baggage. In this section we are summing together the thoughts of Jawaharlal regarding unity. He has dissected the Monster Communalism so that all may see the British-made heart in its breast.

THE CONGRESS POSITION

The Congress position in regard to the proposal to divide up India into two or more parts is that anv such division will be exceedingly harmful to both parts, as well as to India as a whole. I am personally convinced that probably our Muslim friends in the north-west of India will suffer most from such division.

The north will suffer most from this, because it is industrially not so advanced, nor does it contain some of the essential raw materials that are so necessary for a modern nation.

—(*Why Cripps Failed, P. 101*)

THE WORLD FEDERATION

There are many other arguments against any division, but I need enot go into them, so you are well aware of them yourself. There are, of course, also the sentimental, historical and psychological arguments, which as you know affect the people powerfully.

It isfor all these reasons that there is a very strong feeling amongst us and we believe, amongst vast number of people of India, against any division of India. All these arguments are reinforced by recent world history and in fact by the course of the war itself. This has been shown that small nations have no future before them except as hangers-on, or a kind of semi-independence, political or economic, of any other nation.

In fact the tendency in the world is for larger federations to come into existence. Personally, I am convinced that the ultimate, solution will lie in a world federation and I am happy that a lead towards this has been given in the resolution that is going to be

placed before the All-India Congress Committee to-morrow. Such a world federation will help in the solution of many vital problems and, among others, even the problem of national or other minorities will take a different shape.

—*(Why Cripps Failed, P. 223)*

INDIA *V.* BRITAIN

Let no one, therefore, delude himself that the question of the minorities or the communal problem comes in the way of India's future. The conflict today as in the long and dreary past, is between British imperialism and Indian people.

—*(China, Spain, and War, P. 103)*.

EUROPE *V.* INDIA

You compare the state of religion in India with that of Europe at the time of Renaissance and the Reformation. It is true that the people of India have a definite religious outlook which is comparable to the outlook in Europe during the Middle Ages. Still your comparison does not go below the surface. **India has never known in the whole course of her long history the religious strife that has soaked Europe in blood.** The whole background of Indian religion, culture and philosophy was one of tolerance, and even encouragement of other beliefs. Some conflict arose when Islam came, but even that was far more political than religious, although stress is always laid on the religious side. It was the conflict between the conquerors and the conquered. In spite of recent development I cannot easily envisage religious conflict in India on any substantial scale.

—*(Eighteen Months in India, P. 188)*.

ESSENTIAL UNITY

Thus the whole history of India for thousands of years past shows her essential unity and the vitality and adaptability of her culture. This vitality took her message in art and thought and religion to the Far East; it took the shape of great colonizing expeditions to Malaya, to Java and Sumatra and the Philippines and Borneo, as the remains of great monuments there a thousand years old, bear testimony.

—*(Unity of India P. 17)*

Behind this cultural unity, and giving strength to it, was the ceaseless attempt to find harmony between the inner man and his outer environment.

—*(Unity of India,* P. 21)

It will thus be seen that the forces working for Indian unity are formidable and overwhelming, and it is difficult to conceive of any separatist tendency which can break up this unity. Some of the major Indian princes might represent such a tendency, but they flourish not from their own inherent strength, but because of the support of the British power. When the support goes, they will have to surrender to the wishes of their own people, among whom the sentiment of national unity is widespread.

—*(Unity of India, P. 207)*

Honest Communalism is fear; false communalism is Political reaction—*Recent Essays and Writings*, P. 49.

HUNT FOR FAVOURS

Communalism is essentially a hunt for favours from the third party—the ruling power. The communalist can only think in terms of a continuation of foreign domination and he tries to make the best of it for his own particular group. Delete the foreign power and communal arguments and demands fall to the ground. Both the foreign power and the communalists, as representing some upper-class groups want no essential change of the political and economic structure; both are interested in the preservation and augmentation of their vested interests. Because of this, both cannot tackle the real economic problems which confront the country, for a solution of these would upset the present social structure and divest the vested interests—*Recent Essaysa nd Writings*, P. 93.

The present communal problem is entirely a political creation of upper-class groups in the various communities and has no relation to racial or cultural matters or the basic need of the masses.

—*Recent Essays and Writings*, P. 65

TOLERATION IN ISLAM

The coming of the Muslims to India as invaders introduced an element of compulsion in religion. The fight was really a political one between conqueror and conquered, but it was coloured by the religious element, and there was, at times, religious persecution. But it would be wrong to image that Islam stood for such persecution. There is an interesting report of a speech delivered by a Spanish Muslim when he was driven out of Spain, together with the remaining Arabs, in 1610. He protested against the Inquisition and said; 'Did our victorious ancestors ever once attempt to extirpate Chritianity out of Spain, when it was in their power? Did they not suffer your forefathers to enjoy the free use of their rites at the same time as they wore their chains?... ..If there may have been some examples of forced conversions, they are so rare as scarce to deserve mentioning, and only attempted by men who had not the fear of God and the Prophet before their eyes, and who in doing so, have acted directly and diametrically contrary to the holy precepts and ordinances of Islam, which cannot, without sacrilege be violated by any who would be held worthy of the honourable epithet of Musalman. You can never produce, among us any bloodthirsty formal tribunal on account of different persuasions in points of faith, that any wise approaches your execrable Inquisition. Our arms, it is true, are ever open to receive all who are disposed to embrace our religion; but we are not allowed by our sacred Quran to tyrannize over consciences."

—*Glimpses of World History.*

REACTIONARY ELEMENTS

Invite people, the known and the unknown, from all manner of old groups, see to it that they are of the sort that cannot agree, give weightage to all the reactionary elements, and then proclaim to the world that Indians cannot agree among themselves.

—*Eighteen Months in India*, P. 208

So far as India is concerned, not only do I believe that a unitary Indian nation is possible but that, fundamentally and culturally, it exists in spite of numerous superficial differences.

—*Recent Essays and Writings*, P. 65

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

Superficial observers of India, accustomed to the standardization which modern industry has brought about in the West, are apt to be impressed too much by the variety and diversity of India. They miss the unity of India; and yet the tremendous and fundamental fact of India is her essential unity throughout the ages. Indian history runs into thousands of years, and, of all modern nations, only China has such a continuous and ancient background of cultures.—*Unity of India*, P. 14.

Like the ocean she received the tribute of a thousand rivers, and though she was disturbed often enough, and storms raged over the surface of her waters, the sea continued to be the sea. It is astonishing to note how India continued successfully this process of assimilitation and adaptation. It could only have done so if the idea of a fundamental unity were so deep-rooted as to be accepted even by the newcomer, and if her culture were flexible and adaptable to changing conditions —*Unity of India*, P. 14.

And I am sure that the communal problem will cease to exist when it is put to the hard test of real mass opinion.

—*Recent Essays and Writings*, P. 78.

FEAR COMPLEX

The bulwark of communalism is political reaction and so we find that communal leaders inevitably tend to become reactionaries in political and economic matters.

Much as I dislike communalism I realise that it does not di appear by suppression but by a removal of the feeling of fear orsby a diversion of interests. We should therefore remove this fear complex and make the Muslim masses realise that they can have any protection that they really desire. I feel that this realisation will go a long way in toning down the feeling of communalism.

But I am convinced that the real remedy lies in a diversion of interest from the myths that have been fostered and have grown up round the communal question to the realities of to-day.

—*Recent Essays and Writings*, P. 72.

The Indian National Congress declared that it was prepared to go to any length to recognise and protect minority and communal rights and interests provided that Indian unity, democracy, and freedom did not suffer It could not satisfy under any circumstances those who were politically reactionary and opposed to the very conception of freedom and democracy. These reactionary groups, communal or princely, have lined up now, as they have done in the past behind British imperialism to resist any change which will give power to the people.—(203) - *Unity of India*, P. 364.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

I have further added that if the Muslim elected representatives for this Constituent Assembly adhere to certain communal demands I shall press for their acceptance—*Recent Essays and Writings,* P. 72.

POLITICAL REACTION

And the final touch was given to it when Gandhiji offered personally to accept every single one of their communal demands, however illogical and exaggerated they might be, on condition that they assured him of their full support in the political struggle for independence.

That condition and offer was not accepted and it became clear that what stood in the way was not even communalism but political reaction—*Recent Essays and Writings* P. 48.

The whole question of minotries and majorities in India is laid up with foreign and third-party rule, eliminate that rule and the basic aspect of this question changes. That process of elimination is going on now—*Unity of India*, P. 223.

I shall only repeat that we must give the fullest assurance by our words and deeds that their culture and traditions will be safe.

—*India and the World*, P. 28

This imperialism is not in love with minorities or even the princes (though it utilises both to serve its purposes). It is mainly concerned with British financial and other vested interests in India. Taken aback by the volume of resentment in India, the British Government made another approach and offered some seats in the Viceroy's Executive Council to popular representatives, whom the Viceroy would nominate. This was an attempt to buy up by high office some prominent leaders. It completely ignored the issues at stake and avoided a declaration about India's freedom. If the Congress had been foolish enough to accept this bait, it could have been said with justice that it was bargaining for personal preferment. The offer was rejected. Another significant move was fathered by the British Government. This was to shift public attention from the political problem to the communal problem. The problem which had assumed import-

ance since the war was a purely political one, the freedom of India and the right of her people to frame their constitution. The communal problem though important in its own sphere, had nothing to do with it. The British Government however, sought shelter in communal difficulties and made the agreement of certain reactionary communal groups and minorities a prerequisite for any further consideration of the political problem—*Recent Essays and Writings*, P. 345.

MINORITY PROBLEM

What is this minority problem in India? The word minority is misleading, as we are not dealing with racial minorities or nationalities as in Europe, but with religious groups usually of the same racial stock. The smaller religious groups are Christians, Sikhs (an off-shoot from Hinduism), Parsis, etc. The main divisions are Hindus and Muslims, the former constituting about two-thirds of the entire population. The Muslims, though theoretically a minority in the whole of India, number eighty millions and are in a majority in five northern provinces. Under provincial autonomy they can if they function communally or religiously control these five provinces. The distribution of the population and the administrative area is such that there is a balance, and it is hardly conceiveable that either of the great communities even if so inclined, can ignore the other or misbehave towards each other. If this happens there would immediately be repercussions in other parts of India.

—*Recent Essays and Writings*, P. 365

Vincent Smith, in his *Oxford History of India*, refers to what I have in mind : "**India beyond all doubt possesses a deep, underlying fundamental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress manners and sect.** And Sir Frederick Whyte in *The Future of East and West* also stresses this unity—*Unity of India*, P. 14.

FEDERAL UNITY.

I am not aware of any responsible Indian who thinks in terms other than the unity of India. That is an essential article of our political faith and anything that we do has that for its goal. That unity, I agree, is likely to be a federal unity, but that does not mean of course anything like the federation of the new Act. That unity also is not the unity of subjection under a common yoke.

—*India and the World*, P. 47

It is possible that a period of chaos might result in disunity and the formation of separate States in India, but that danger seems to me very unreal. The tendency to unity is too strong all over the country—*India and the World*. P. 47.

Unity is good thing, but unity in subjection is hardly a thing to be proud of. The very strength of a despotic Government may become a greater burden for a people; and a police force, no doubt

useful in many ways, can be, and has been often enough, turned against the very people it is supposed to protect. Bertrand Russel, comparing modern civilization with old Greek, has recently written :— **"The only serious superiority of Greek civilization as compared to ours was the inefficiency of the police, which enabled a large proportion of decent people to escape."**—*Autobiography*, P. 435.

TOWARDS FREEDOM

But even the unity of India cannot be purchased at the cost of India's freedom. We want no union of slaves in bondage. We want a united India but a free India, and we have no shadow of doubt that we shall get what we want—*Towards Freedom*, P. 187.

Real disunity creeps in from communal side, and we must recognize that there is an ideology, fostered by the principal communal organisations, which cuts at the root of national unity. Yet I do not think that this ideology has affected to any large extent even the members of the communal organisations. As soon as there is an improvement in the communal atmosphere, this way of thinking will probably fade out—*Unity of India*, P. 120.

VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

There was another aspect of this extensive touring which gripped me. For me it was a voyage of discovery of India and her people. I saw a thousand faces of this country of mine in all their diversity, and yet always with the unifying impress of India upon them. I gazed at the millions of friendly eyes that looked up at me and tried to understand what lay behind them—*Autobiography*, P. 360.

India, as it is, contains nearly all the important elements and resources that can make her a strong and more or less self-sufficient nation. To cut her up will be from the economic point of view, as well as others a fatal thing, breaking that natural economic unity and weakening each part—*Why Cripps Failed* P. 101.

We discuss our differences and sometimes over-emphasize them. Yet it is well to remember that our political movement for freedom has a fundamental unity, and all our differences of outlook and approach do not lessen this unity. That unity comes out most strikingly in times of struggle, but even at other times that unity is apparent. Our debates and arguments do not attack that unity ; they are, in fact based on that unity. That is natural enough for under the circumstances the independence of India and anti-imperialism are the common urges which move vast numbers of our people.

—*Unity of India*, P. 120

POLITICAL UNITY

The British gave political unity in India. This had now become possible owing to the development of communications and transport. It was a unity of a common subjection, but it gave rise to the unity of common nationalism. The idea of a united and a free India gripped

the people. It was not superficial idea imposed from above, but a natural outcome of that fundamental unity of thousands of years.

—*Unity of India,* P. 19

Hindus and Muslims do not form different races; they are essentially the same amalgam of races. Thus, though there are various races, they run into one another and on the whole form a definite unit, racially and culturally—*India and the World,* P. 187.

LINGUISTIC UNITY

The so-called hundreds of languages of India are a favourite subject for our critics, who usually have little acquaintance with any of them. As a matter of fact, India is linguistically singularly well-knit, and it is only due to the absence of popular education that numerous dialects have grown. There are ten major languages of India which cover the entire country, except for small tracts. These belong to the two groups—Indo-Aryan and Dravidian—and between the two there is the common background of Sanskrit. Of the Indo-Aryan languages, I suppose you know that Hindustani with its various dialects accounts for over 120,000,000 of people, and it is spreading. The other Indo-Aryan languages—Bengali, Gujarati and Marathi—are very closely allied to it. I am sure that whatever other difficulties we may have to face in the way of Indian unity, the language question will not be a major difficulty—*India and the World* P. 188.

INDIA HUNG TOGETHER

India hung together culturally and the mental background of the people everywhere was much the same. Even masses in different parts of the country were not dissimilar in thought and outlook.

(—*Unity of India,* P. 16.)

The chief places of pilgrimage fixed by Shankarachary were situated at the four corners of India; Badrinath in the Himalayas in the North, Rameshwaram near Cape Comorin in the South, Dwarka in the West overlooking the Arabian Sea, and Puri in the East, washed by the waters of the Bay of Bengal. There was continuous intercourse between the peoples of the different regions, India as a whole was their holy land—*Unity of India,* P. 16.

SECTION XXI

Through The Tanglewood

India has often marched with lingering painfulness through the tanglewood of correspondence between the various leaders who have agreed to differ. Here below are reproduced some letters of Jawaharlal, which are of great political importance. Nehru has written hundreds of letters which have not yet seen the light of day. These will form one day a very vital portion of Indian political literature. Some interesting specimens are reproduced below. Nehru-Gandhi and Nehru-Jinnah correspondence shows where they agree and where they differ. Jawaharlal's letters are immortal documents.

From Congress leaders in Yeravda prison to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar containing suggested conditions for peace :—

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON.
15th August, 1930.

Dear Friends,

We are deeply grateful to you for having undertaken the duty of trying to effect a peaceful settlement beween the British Government and the Congress. After having perused the correspondence between yourselves and His Excellency the Viceroy, and having had the benefit of protracted talks with you, and having discussed among ourselves, we have come to the conclusion that the time is not yet ripe for securing a settlement honourable for our country. **Marvellous as has been the mass awakening during the past five months, and great as has been the suffering of the people among all grades and classes, representing the different creeds, we feel that the sufferings have been neither sustained enough nor large enough for the immediate attainment of the end.** Needless to mention, we do not in any way share your view or the Viceroy's that civil disobedience has harmed the country or that it is ill-timed or unconstitutional. English history teems with instances of bloody revolts whose praises Englishmen have sung unstintingly and taught us to do likewise. It therefore, ill-becomes the Viceroy or any intelligent Englishman to condemn a revolt that is in intention, and that has overwhelmingly remained in execution, peaceful, but we have no desire to quarrel with condemnation, whether official or unofficial, of the present civil disobedience campaign. The wonderful mass response to the movement is, we hold,

its sufficient justification. What is, however, the point here is the fact that we gladly make common cause with you in wishing, if it is at all possible, to stop or suspend civil disobedience. It can be no pleasure to us needlessly to expose the men, women and children of our country to imprisonment, lathi charges and worse. You will, therefore believe us when we assure you, and through you the Viceroy, that we would leave no stone unturned to explore any and every channel for honourable peace, but we are free to confess as yet we see no such sign on the horizon. **We notice no symptom of conversion of the English official world to the view that it is India's men and women who must decide what is best for India.** We, distrust the pious declarations of the good intentions, of often well-meant officials. The age-long exploitation by the English of the people of this ancient land has rendered them almost incapable of seeing the ruin, moral, economic and political, of our country which this exploitation has brought about. They cannot persuade themselves to see that the one thing needful for them to do is to get off our backs and do some reparation for the past wrongs by helping us to grow out of the dwarfing process that has gone on for a century of British domination.

But we know that you and some of our learned country men think differently. You believe a conversion has taken place, at any rate, sufficient to warrant participation in the proposed Conferences. In spite, therefore, of the limitation we are labouring under, we would gladly co-operate with you to the extent of our ability.

The following is the utmost response it is possible for us, circumstanced as we are, to make to your friendly endeavour :

(1) We feel the language used by the Viceroy in the reply given to your letter about the proposed conference is too vague to enable us to assess its value in terms of the National Demand framed last year in Lahore, nor are we in a position to say anything authoritative with out reference to a properly constituted meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress and, if necessary, to the All-India Congress Committee; but we can say that for us individually no solution will be satisfactory unless—

(*a*) it recognises, in as many words, the right of India to secede at will from the British Empire,

(*b*) it gives to India complete national government responsible to her people, including the control of defence forces and economic control, and covers all the eleven points raised in Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy, and

(*c*) it gives to India the right to refer, if necessary, to an independent tribunal such British claims, concessions and the like, including the so-called public debt of India, as may seem to the National Government to be unjust or not in the interest of the people of India.

Note.—Such adjustments as may be necessitated in the interests of India during the transference of power to be determined by India's chosen representatives

(2) If the foregoing appears to be feasible to the British Government and a satisfactory declaration is made to that effect, we should recommend to the Working Committee the advisability of calling off civil disobedience, that is to say, disobedience of certain laws for the sake of disobedience. But peaceful picketing of foreign cloth and liquor will be continued unless Government themselves can enforce prohibition of liquor and foreign cloth. The manufacture of salt by the people will have to be continued and the penal clauses of the Salt Act should not be enforced. There will be no raids on Government or private salt depots.

(3) Simultaneously with the calling off of civil disobedience ;

(*a*) all the satyagraha prisoners and other political prisoners convicted or under trial, who have not been guilty of violence, or incitement to violence, should be ordered to be released ;

(*b*) properties confiscated under the Salt Act, the Press Act, the Revenue Act, and the like, should be restored ;

(*c*) fines and securities taken from convicted satyagraha is under the Press Act should be refunded ;

(*d*) all the officers, including village officers, who have resigned or who may have been dismissed during the civil disobedience movement and who may desire to rejoin Government service, should be reinstated.

Note.—The foregoing sub-clauses refer also to the non-co operation period.

(*e*) all the Viceregal Ordinances should be repealed.

4 :—The question of the composition of the proposed Conference and of the Congress being represented at it, can only be decided after the fore-going preliminaries are satisfactorily settled.

Yours sincerely,

Motilal Nehru
M. K. Gandhi
Sarojini Naidu
Vallabhbhai Patel
Jairamdas Doulatram
Sayed Mahmud
Jawaharlal Nehru

II

WE MUST ALWAYS DARE

Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad.
October 14, 1930.

Circular No. P1/3,000.

To

All Provincial Congress Committees

Dear Comrades,

On my return to duty after six months' enforced absence, I send you and my other comrades in your province my greetings, and I wish to pay my homage to those who have suffered in the great national struggle. For seven months now, we have carried on this fight and to-day, in spite of the barbarities and inhumanities of the enemy Government, in spite of its Martial Law and Ordinances, in spite of Lathi charges and the sending of about 50,000 men and women to jail we are marching along undaunted, more determined than ever, to the goal of independence. **As we approach this goal, the struggle becomes fiercer and our sufferings greater. As defeat looms ahead before the enemy Government and paralysis creeps over their trade, they are becoming more and more reckless and unscrupulous.**

The time has now come for us to make another great effort and to launch another offensive. I trust your Committee is fully prepared for this and is ready to go ahead with vigour. I am making certain suggestions below to guide your Committee in its future work :—

1. Please make it clear to all friends that they must not be misled by frequent rumours about peace talks and the like. These are started by interested parties to confuse the issue and make people think that the struggle is ending. We are far from the end of the struggle yet and there can be no peace till there is success for us. Assure our friends also that the talk of "secret diplomacy" is a deliberate misrepresentation. The Congress can and will do nothing which is not public.

2. The main plans of our campaign must continue the boycott of foreign cloth, of British goods and liquor, and the disobedience of the Salt Act—with all vigour and without any compromise.

3. It appears that some local Committees have made compromises with cloth dealers permitting them to dispose of their old stocks of foreign cloth on certain days. This is improper and is in direct contravention of the directions of the Working Committee. Please make it clear that under no circumstances can any such compromise or weakening be permitted. Where such compromises have been made, the provincial committee should take the necessary steps after due notice to put them aside and to revert to its original attitude of unadulterated boycott.

4. The disobedience of the Salt Act must also continue in any manner which your Committee considers desirable. We must develop the habit of people manufacturing their own salt in large numbers.

5. In the boycott of British goods, the co-operation of people, who may not be interested in other items of our programme, should be sought and special committees formed. It may be desirable to make a list of the more commonly used articles of British manufacture and to work for their complete exclusion. Our office will send you such a list soon.

6. These activities, and especially the boycott of foreign cloth, are the backbone of our movement and must be continued at all cost. For some time there was, in various provinces, picketing of educational institutions. At this stage when more vital matters have to be attended to by us, we cannot afford to fritter away our energy over these side activities. I would suggest to you therefore not to encourage or carry on, on behalf of Congress organizations, any such picketing, unless there are special reasons to the contrary. **If the students of an institution themselves desire to picket it, they are at perfect liberty to do so, but the Congress as a body should endeavour to keep out of it as far as possible.**

7. The non-payment of Chowkidari tax must continue. So also the disobedience of the forest laws wherever possible.

8. Gujrat is carrying on a gallant fight in its no-tax campaign. The time has now come for other parts of India to consider the launching of similar no-tax campaign. As President of the A. I. C. C. I authorise every P. C. C. to start any no-tax campaign which it considers feasible and proper. Of course no such campaign should be launched lightly and without careful thought. But our struggle has reached a stage when we must use one of our greatest weapons, if at all we are prepared to do so.

9. Congress Committees are being daily declared illegal bodies in all parts of the country. We must welcome this as it is sure sign of the growing strength of our movement. And in spite of such declarations we must try to carry on our work in normal manner. No Congress Committee ceases to exist because the enemy Government has declared it illegal. The Committee should flourish all the more because of this. On no account must an office-bearer of the Congress declare that the Committee is dissolved. No one has authority to do this.

10. I must request you to make a point of remaining in touch with our office here. A regular supply of news and reports is essential for us to direct this great movement. If necessary you should send a messenger once a week.

11. **Finally, I would have you remember that this fight is going to be fought to the bitter end and victory always goes to those who dare. Remember that Danton said a hundred years and more ago: "Pour vaincre les ennemis de lay patrie it nous faut**

de l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de laudace'—in order to overcome the enemies of our country we must be daring, we must dare again, we must always dare." Dare therefore, and victory is ours.

Your Comrade,
Jawaharlal Nehru, President

III

THE NATIONAL FLAG

Camp, Mussorie
October 17, 1930.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th October informing me that the Punjab P.C.C. has passed a resolution regarding the incorporation of an additional colour in the National Flag. Owing to my recent release from jail, I have no knowledge of this resolution and do not know if my office has taken any steps in regard to it.

As you are aware, the National Congress has not formally adopted the National Flag by a resolution. But practice and convention have certainly made the tricolour flag at present in use the National Flag of India. The colours of this flag were not meant to represent any community as such. In various countries of Europe there are tri-colour flags which by their colours do not represent different communities. Nonetheless some people have certainly stated that these colours represent different communities and I can well appreciate the desire of the Sikhs to have their own particular colour incorporated. This question was discussed at Lahore between Mahatma Gandhi and Sikh leaders. So far as I know Mahatmaji said that he would place the matter for the consideration of the Congress executive. He did not and could not give any undertaking. Since then the country has launched on a vast campaign against the British Government in India and the Congress is involved in a life and death struggle. As you know even our executive has been declared an illegal body. Your own provincial committee and district committees have also been declared illegal. Under the circumstances, it is difficult for the All-India Committee to meet just to consider the question of the flag. This question will undoubtedly have to be gone into thoroughly whenever we have an opportunity to do so. But at present it is manifestly impossible for us to do so. Nor would it be fair for any small committee to take upon itself the responsibility of fixing finally what the National Flag of India should be. I am afraid therefore that the Working Committee is not in a position at present to go into this question much as it appreciates the desire of the Sikhs.

The decision of the Punjab P.C.C. to incorporate and additional colour throughout the Punjab seems to me to have been premature and untimely. If every provincial committee acted separately in this matter we might have a variety of flags. The question can only be

decided finally by the National Congress in its annual sessions. I have no doubt that our Sikh friends will appreciate the position of the Congress. **We have our backs to the wall and can hardly think of anything but the great fight that we are waging. When victory comes with the joint efforts of all the communities of India, it will be for all of us together to evolve a flag which is acceptable to each group and to the nation at large.** I have no doubt that no individual or group can make the question of the colour the reason for holding back in the struggle. It seems to me to be doing an injustice to the Sikh community to say that they will not take their rightful part in the war for freedom because of this. Large numbers of brave Sikhs have already joined the soldiers of freedom and faced the enemy. I am sure that all others who have refrained so far will wait no longer now that the fight has become fiercer aud more intense.

Pandit K. Santanam
Race Course Rd. Lahore

Your sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru,
President.

IV

Mahatma Gandhi's Statement, dated 14th September 1933.

As a rule, during my long course of public service, the next moment's step has been clear before me, but since my unexpected release from prison on 23rd August last, darkness has surrounded me. The path of duty has, therefore, not been clear to me. My present state of health is such that it may yet take several weeks for me to regain lost strength. To seek imprisonment as soon as I was physically fit to restrain myself for the interrupted year of imprisonment was the question before me.

After hard praying and thinking I have come to the conclusion that up to the termination of the period of sentence, that is, up to 3rd August next, I must not court imprisonment by offering aggressive civil resistance. This, however, in no way affects the advice given in the statement issued by me after the informal conference at Poona. That I have to suspend action for myself is unfortunate but inevitable.

My release has placed me in a most embarrassing position but as a Satyagrahi, that is, a humble seeker of Truth, somehow or other, it offends my sence of propriety to court imprisonment in the circumstances created by my discharge. Whatever the motive behind it, I may not quarrel with the release. I must examine the act on its merits. **It appears to me to be petty to force the Government to re-arrest me by taking aggressive action during the unexpired term of imprisonment, unless extraordinary circumstances, which I cannot foresee, arise compelling me to revise my decision. There is no room for smallness in civil resistance.**

THE BITTER CUP

This self-imposed restraint is a bitter cup. When I said at my trial after arrest, that to remain outside and be a helpless witness of



THE FRONTIER ON THE MARCH

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other leaders taking the salute from the march past of the Khudai Khidmatgars at Peshawar



A Step-Back- Jawaharlal Nehru making a statement about the failure of Cripps' mission in 1942 in the Press Conference at Delhi, which was attended by special correspondents of Indian and Foreign newspapers.

the devastating and demoralising effect of the Ordinance rule was an unbearable agony, I stated a simple unvarnished fact. That agony is no less to-day than it was on the 4th of August. But I must bear it. **I cannot be a willing party to the undignified cat-and-mouse game, if the Government have any such thing in contemplation.** Therefore, when and if I am arrested again and denied Harijan service, I would not hesitate, if I had the inner urge, to undertake a fast to the finish, which would not be broken even if the Government released me as they did on 23rd August last, when the danger point had been reached.

I must state the limitations of my self-restraint in clear terms. Whilst I can refrain from aggressive civil resistance, I cannot, so long as I am free, help guiding those who will seek my advice and preventing the national movement from running into wrong channels. It is an ever-growing belief with me that Truth cannot be found by violent means. Attainment of national independence is to me a search after Truth. Terrorist methods whether adopted by the oppressor or his victim can, I am convinced, be effectively answered never by violent resistance but only by civil resistance.

I would, therefore, be guilty of disloyalty to my creed if I attempted to put greater restraint on myself than I have adumbrated in this statement. If then the Government leave me free, I propose to devote this period to Harijan service and, if possible, also to such other constructive activities as my health may permit.

It is needless to repeat here that peace is as much a part of my being as civil resistance. Indeed a civil resister offers resistance only when peace becomes impossible. Therefore, so far as I am concerned and so long as I am free, I shall make all the endeavour in my power to explore every possible avenue of honourable peace.

Jawaharlal Nehru's Statement, dated 14th September, 1933.

Immediately after my discharge from prison my first thought was the serious illness of my mother and I hastened to her bedside in hospital. But though anxiety filled me and my mind was troubled because of her illness, it was inevitable for me to think hard about the present political condition of the country and the course of our struggle for freedom. For over twenty months, I had been cut off from activity; for over two years I had not met Gandhiji, and much had happened during this period. I sought to find out how matters stood from some of my colleagues in the United Provinces but above all, I desired to meet Gandhiji after my long separation from him. It was hard for me to leave my mother's bedside, but as soon as I could possibly do so for a few days, I came to Poona. I have now had the privilege of long and intimate conversations with him and placed my view-point before him and listened to his advice. Two questions faced us--the large national question involved in the freedom struggle and the personal issue raised by Gandhiji's recent discharge from prison. The latter was a question which Gandhiji alone could decide; it was primarily a matter affecting him though of course any decision of his was bound to have national reactions.

I had come to Poona to see Gandhiji and clear up my own mind about many matters. But I find that considerable public interest has been taken in our conversations and there seems to be an expectation that some public statement should be made in regard to them. It has been thought that a convenient way of placing some of the important points before the public would be by an exchange of letters between Gandhiji and myself. It is proposed to exchange and issue these letters to the press in due course.

MAN OF RELIGION

It has been my privilege in common with the vast numbers of my countrymen and countrywomen, to take part in the struggle for India's freedom during the last memorable thirteen years under the leadership and inspiration of Gandhiji. My own view-point has always been political and economic and I have seldom been influenced by religious or other like considerations though the moral and practical aspect of Satyagraha has always appealed to me. **Gandhiji, as is well known, is essentially a man of religion and his outlook is governed by this. In spite of this difference in outlook many of us have found numerous points of agreement with him and have most willingly and joyously followed his lead in action.** India knows and the world knows how great a leader in action he is and how he has infused the breath of life and hope in our suffering and toiling masses. Politically and to some extent economically the objective he had in view appealed to us and we worked to the best of our ability to achieve it. I feel that the methods he has taught us to follow are fundamentally right for us and we must continue to pursue them till we gain that objective and that for these methods his leadership is essential. **Freedom can have no real meaning for us unless it is the freedom of the most exploited in the land. Gandhiji has always laid stress on this and it is from these down-trodden classes that he has drawn his strength.** I feel however that it would be desirable to define our objective more clearly so that there may be no misapprehensions in India and abroad. In particular, I feel that in these days of economic breakdown of the capitalist order, it is essential for us to lay down a clear economic policy for the national movement.

I have had a request from a respected colleague to convene a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. I would gladly take this step, as indeed I am bound to do, if there is a requisition demanding such a meeting. But I feel that under present circumstances, there are considerable difficulties in the way of convening a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Mahatma Gandhi.

My Dear Bapu,

In our recent conversations you will remember that I laid stress on reiteration and clearer definition of our national objective. The objective of political independence has been finally laid down by the Congress and there is nothing to add to it or take away from it.

We stand for complete independence. Sometimes a little confusion arises because of vague phraseology and misleading propaganda and it is therefore as well to remove this confusion by a reiteration of our political demand. Even the word independence is used with a variety of meanings. Obviously, it must include, as the Congress has clearly and definitely laid down, full control of the army and of foreign relations, as well as financial and economic control.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

In regard to economic matters the Karachi Congress, by passing the important resolution on "Fundamental Rights and Economic Changes" gave lead and pointed out the direction in which we should move. I attach great importance to that resolution but I would personally like to go much further and to clarify the position still more.

It seems to me that if we are to improve the condition of the masses, to raise them economically and give them freedom, it is inevitable that vested interests in India will have to give up their special position and many of their privileges. It is inconceivable to me how else the masses can rise. **Therefore the problem of achieving freedom is one of revising vested interests in favour of the masses. To the extent this is done, to that extent only will freedom come.** The biggest vested interest in India is that of the British Government; next come the Indian princes; and others follow. We do not wish to injure any class or group and the devesting should be done as gently as possible and with every effort to avoid injury. But it is obvious that the devesting is bound to cause loss to the classes or groups which enjoy special privileges at the expense of the masses. It is also obvious that the process of devesting must be as speedy as possible to bring relief to the masses whose condition, as you know, is as bad as it can well be. Indeed economic forces themselves are acting with amazing rapidity today and breaking up the old order. The big zamindari and taluqadari system in the United Provinces has largely collapsed, though it may be kept up for sometime longer by outside agencies. Even the condition of the zamindars is very bad and the peasantry of course is in a far worse position.

We are all agreed that the Round Table Conference and its various productions are utterly useless to solve even one of India's many problems **As I conceive it, the Round Table Conference was an effort to consolidate the vested interests of India behind the British Government so as to face the rising and powerful national and economic movements in the country which threaten these interests.** Essentially, in international parlance, it was a fascist grouping of vested and possessing interests, and fascist methods were adopted in India to suppress the national movement. And because the mere preservation of all these vested interests in India cannot possibly solve our economic ills whether those of the masses or even of the middle classes, the effort is foredoomed to inevitable failure. Even from the point of view of a democratic nationalism, as you yourself stated at the Round Table Conference, democracy and autocracy can ill go together.

Another aspect has to be borne in mind. **The problem of Indian freedom cannot be separated from the vital international problems of the world. The present crisis in the world's affairs is having its repercussions in India.** At any moment it may result in a complete breakdown or in a violent international conflagration. Everywhere there is a conflict and a contest between the forces of progress and betterment of the masses and the forces of reaction and vested interests. We cannot remain silent witnesses to this titanic struggle for it affects us intimately. Both on the narrower ground of her own interests and the wider ground of international welfare and human progress, we must, I feel, range ourselves with the progressive forces of the world. This ranging ourselves at present can of course be ideological only.

There are some of the larger issues that fill my mind and I am convinced, not only that we ignore them at our peril, but that a true appreciation of them will vitalize and give new meaning to our struggle for freedom which we must continue till the full objective is achieved.

These wider issues are of great importance but at present, as you know, the minds of large numbers of our countrymen are greatly exercised over immediate national problems and especially the question of carrying on the struggle. The statements that you and Syt. M. S. Aney issued sometime ago to guide the country have, I am afraid produced some confusion and there has even been some resentment in regard to particular directions contained in them. There is a vague talk, in quarters which ought to know better, that the Congress has been dissolved. It is obvious that nothing of the kind has been done or could be done under the constitution. Your directions and those of Mr. Aney were, I take it, in the nature of advice or suggestions to meet a certain position that had arisen. The Congress continues as before but it is clear that it cannot function normally when Government declare its committees to be illegal. There can be no regular offices or open activity. To recognise this fact and to adapt ourselves to it is not to wind up any Congress Committee, much less the Congress organization as a whole.

A necessary consequence from this was to avoid the possibility of a few new comers who formed committees, when the old members and other reliable workers went to prison, or even individuals, committing the Congress to an undesirable course of action. As is known, we have had to face this risk in the past and unreliable persons had come to the helm of affairs in some local areas with the intention of obstructing and even stopping the very activities they were supposed to further. It thus becomes desirable to prevent such unreliable persons from exploiting that name of the Congress Committee. This of course does not prevent Congress workers in any area from co-operating together in an organised way for the furtherance of our programme.

Confusion has also arisen in the country about the implications of individual and mass civil disobedience. I appreciate,

to some extent, the difference but this difference does not appear to me to be a fundamental one, as, in any event, civil disobedience is essentially an individual affair. Individual civil disobedience can develop into mass civil disobedience. Besides, you told me that if an organization felt strong enough to undertake the responsibility and the risk, it could, of its own intiative, take up mass civil disobedience. Indeed you were of opinion that a local organization could, in this manner, go ahead in any direction which was not contrary to Congress methods or policy.

Stress was laid in your previous statement on the undesirability of secrecy, although you pointed out that there was nothing inherently illegitimate in secret methods. I think that most of us agree, and certainly I am of that opinion, that our movement is essentially an open one and secret methods do not fit in with it. Such methods, if indulged into any large extent, are likely to change the whole character of the movement, as it has been conceived, and produce a certain amount of demoralisation. Agreeing with this, some of us feel that, to some extent, as for instance, in communicating with each other or sending directions or keeping contacts, a measure of secrecy may be necessary. Perhaps secrecy is hardly the word for these activities and privacy would suit them better. Privacy of course is always open to all groups and individuals. Secrecy, or the avoidance of it, as you said, cannot be made into a fetish.

But secrecy is certainly involved in the production of printed or duplicated news-sheets and bulletins. These bulletins have often served a useful purpose in the past in keeping contacts between headquarters and districts and in sending information or directions. You pointed out to me the difficulties and undesirable consequences of running these presses and duplicating machines. Many good workers are tied up and have to avoid aggressive action ; money has to be invested in such machines and frequently they are taken away by the police. Even from the practical point of view this continuous drain and tying up of workers is not desirable, and undoubtedly it sometimes results in demoralization. You suggested that the best way was to have hand-written copies of bulletins, etc , containing the name of the publisher. Generally I agree with all this and appreciate the force of your argument. But I do feel that under certain circumstances it may be desirable for a local or provincial committee or group to issue bulletins of directions, etc. secretly. This must not be encouraged ; indeed it should be discouraged, but a certain latitude in exceptional circumstances might be permitted.

There is one other small matter which seems to me rather ridiculous. It was right and proper, if I may say so, for you to court imprisonment by giving previous intimation of your intention to do so to the authorities. But it seems to me to be perfectly absurd for others, and even Congress volunteers, to send such notices or communications to the authorities. Any person desiring to offer civil resistance should openly carry on activities which further our cause and thus court arrest. He must not forget or ignore these activities and merely ask to be arrested.

This letter has become long enough. I do not mention here the many other matters which I had the privilege of discussing with you.

Parna Kuti · Yours affectionately,

JAWAHAR.

Poona, September 13th, 1933.

Letter from Mahatma Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru.

"Parnakuti,"

Poona, Sept. 14, 1933.

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am glad you have written so fully and frankly.

When, on my return from London at the end of 1931, I found you to have been suddenly snatched away from me, I felt the separation keenly. I was, therefore, most anxious to meet you and exchange views.

With much of what you have said in your letter I am in complete agreement. The experience gained after the Karachi Congress has, if possible, strengthened my faith in the main resolution and the economic programme referred to by you. I have no doubt in my mind that our goal can be no less than 'Complete Independence.' I am also in whole-hearted agreement with you when you say that without a material revision of vested interests the condition of the masses can never be improved. **I believe too, though I may not go as far as you do, that before India can become one homogeneous entity, the princes will have to part with much of their Power and become popular representatives of the people over whom they are ruling to-day.** I can corroborate from first-hand experience much of what you say about the Round Table Conference. Nor have I the slightest difficulty in agreeing with you that in these days of rapid intercommunication and a growing consciousness of the oneness of all mankind, we must recognise that our nationalism must not be inconsistent with progressive internationalism. India cannot stand in isolation and unaffected by what is going on in other parts of the world. I can therefore, go the whole length with you and say that 'we should range ourselves with the progressive forces of the world.' But I know that though there is such an agreement between you and me in the enunciation of ideals, there are temperamental differences between us. Thus you have emphasised the necessity of a clear statement of the goal, but having once determined it, I have never attached importance to the repetition. The clearest possible definition of the goal and its appreciation would fail to take us there, if we do not know and utilize the means of achieving it. I have, therefore, concerned myself principally with the conservation of the means and their progressive use. I know that if we can take care of them, attainment of the goal is assured.

I feel too that our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means. If we can give an ocular demonstration of our uttermost truthfulness and non-violence, I am convinced that our statement of the national goal cannot long offend the interests which your letter would appear to attack. We know that the princes, the zamindars, and those, who depend for their existence upon the exploitation of the masses, would cease to fear and distrust us, if we could but ensure the innocence of our methods. We do not seek to coerce any. We seek to convert them. This method may appear to be long, perhaps too long but I am convinced that it is the shortest.

In the main I agree with your interpretation of Sjt. Aney's instructions and my note upon them. I am quite clear in my mind that had those instructions not been issued, the whole movement of civil resistance would have collapsed through growing internal weakness. for Congressmen were deluding themselves into the belief that there were organisations effectively functioning to which they could look for guidance, when, as a matter of fact, under the organised terrorism which the Ordinance rule means, organised functioning of Congress Committees had become impossible. A false belief in the functioning of organisations rendered illegal and largely impotent was fast producing a demoralisation which had to be arrested. There is no such thing as demoralisation in civil resistance properly applied. You have said rightly that after all "Civil Disobedience is essentially an individual affair." I go a step further and say that so long as there is one civil resister offering resistance, the movement cannot die and must succeed in the end. Individual civil resisters do not need the aid of an organisation. After all an organisation is nothing without the individuals composing it. Sjt. Aney's instructions were, therefore, I hold, an effective answer to the Ordinances and if only men and women belonging to the Congress will appreciate the necessity of those instructions with all their implications, the Ordinances will be rendered nugatory, at least so far as the resisters are concerned. They can form a nucleus around which an army of invincible civil resisters can be built up. Nothing in Sjt. Aney's instructions or in my note would warrant the supposition that they preclude organised action by Congressmen in any shape or form.

I would like to warn you against thinking that there is no fundamental difference between individual civil resistance and mass civil resistance. I think that the fundamental difference is implied in your own admission that "it is essentially an individual affair." The chief distinction between mass civil resistance and individual civil resistance is that in the latter everyone is a complete independent unit and his fall does not affect the others; in mass civil resistance the fall of one generally adversely affects the rest. Again, in mass civil resistance leadership is essential, in individual civil resistance every resister is his own leader. Then again, in mass civil resistance there is a possibility of failure; in individual civil resistance failure is a

impossibility. Finally a State may cope with mass civil resistance; no State has yet been found able to cope with individual civil resistance.

Nor may much be made of my statement that an organization which feels its own strength, can at its own risk adopt mass civil resistance. While, as an opinion, it is unexceptionable, I know that at the present moment there is no organisation that can shoulder the burden. I do not want to raise false hopes.

Now about secret methods. I am as firm as ever that they must be tabooed. I am myself unable to make any exceptions. Secrecy has caused much mischief and if it is not put down with a firm hand, it may ruin the movement. There may be exceptional circumstances that may warrant secret methods. I would forego that advantage, for the sake of the masses whom we want to educate in fearlessness. I will not confuse their minds by leading them to think that under certain circumstances, they may resort to secret methods. Secrecy is inimical to the growth of the spirit of civil resistance. If Congressmen will realise that all property is liable to be confiscated at any moment, they will learn to be utterly independent of it.

I quite agree with you that it is ludicrous for individuals to send notices to the local authorities of their intention to offer a particular form of civil disobedience. We do not want to make a great movement ridiculous. Therefore when civil resistance is offered, it should be offered seriously and in an effective manner, in so far as this is possible, in furtherance of the Congress programme.

I notice one gap in your letter. You make no mention of the various constructive activities of the Congress. They became an integral part of the Congress programme that was framed after mature deliberations in 1920. **With civil resistance as the back-ground, we cannot possibly do without the constructive activities such as communal unity, removal of untouchability and universalisation of the spinning wheel and khaddar.** I am as strong as ever about these. We must recognise that whilst Congressmen can be counted by hundreds of thousands, civil resisters imprisoned have never amounted to more than one lakh at the outside. I feel that there is something radically wrong, if paralysis has overtaken the remaining lakhs. There is nothing to be ashamed of in an open confession by those who for any reason whatsoever are unable to join the civil resisters' ranks. They are also serving the cause of the country and bringing it nearer to the goal who are engaged in any of the constructive activities I have named and several other kindred activities I can add to the list. Ordinance, or no ordinance, if individual Congressman and Congressmen will learn the art of contributing their share to the work of building up the house of independence and realise their own importance, dark as the horizon seems to us, there is absolutely no cause for despair or disappointment.

Finally, if I can say so without incurring the risk of your accusing me of egotism, I would like to say that I have no sense

of defeat in me and the hope in me that this country of ours is fast marching towards its goal is burning as bright as it did in 1920; for I have an undying faith in the efficacy of civil resistance. But as you are aware, after full and prayerful consideration, I have decided not to take the offensive during the unexpired period of the sentence of imprisonment that was pronounced against me on the 4th of August last by the court that met in Yeravda Jail. I need not go into the reasons, as I have already issued a separate statement about it. This personal suspension, although it may be misunderstood for a while, will show how and when it may become a duty. And as a duty, it cannot possibly injure the cause.

Yours
Bapu.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
Poona.

V

TEXT OF JINNAH-NEHRU LETERS

The following correspondence that passed between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. M. A. Jinnah on the question of Hindu-Muslim unity was released through the United Press :—

Copy of letter from Pandit Nehru to Mr. Jinnah, dated, Lucknow, January 18, 1938 :—

Dear Mr. Jinnah.—I have read the statement you issued recently to the press with care. I am afraid, we approach the question from differing viewpoints and I feel that your approach is not very helpful. But I entirely agree with you that an argument carried on through the medium of the press is not desirable. Indeed, I had decided not to issue press statements on the subject, but after your Calcutta speech in which you mentioned my name and issued some kind of a challenge to me, I felt that a public statement was unavoidable. Hence my statement, in which I tried to avoid unnecessary controversy.

CLARIFICATION

You know perhaps that for some months past I have been in correspondence with Nawab Ismail Khan on this subject, and I have been anxious to find out what the points of difference and agreement were. I am afraid I do not know this yet, and your last statement does not help. I would feel grateful to you if you could kindly throw some light on this and let me know what exactly are the points in dispute which require consideration.

I think this will help us all and lead to an avoidance of needless controversy. We can then come to grips with the subject.

At I have said in my last statement, we are eager to do everything in our power to put an end to every misapprehension and to endeavour to solve every problem that comes in the way of our

developing our public life along right lines and promoting the unity and progress of the Indian people.

I am leaving for Lahore to-day. From there I go to the Frontier Province and return to Allahabad in about ten days' time. Kindly address your reply to Allahabad.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd). Jawaharlal Nehru.

LETTER FROM Mr. JINNAH TO PANDIT NEHRU DATED BOMBAY, 25th JANUARY, 1938 :

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal,—I am in receipt of your letter of January 18, 1938.

I must say that it is very difficult for me to understand it. I fail to see what you are driving at. It does not suggest any useful proposal of a concrete character besides reapproaching me and informing me that "we approach the question from differing viewpoints," and you further say : " I feel that your approach is not very helpful."

You further refer to my Calcutta speech and say, "in which you mentioned my name and issued some kind of ' challenge ' to me. I felt that a public statement was unavoidable and hence my statement." But you do not even now give me the purport of my speech, and what was the challenge which compelled you to say what you did in your statement which you considered unavoidable.

I know nothing about your being in correspondence with Nawab Ismail Khan referred to in your letter.

CORRESPONDENCE MEDIUM

Finally I note your request that I should let you know "what exactly are the points in dispute which require consideration." I am glad that you agree with me that the arguments carried on through the medium of the press are not desirable. But do you now think that this matter can be discussed, much less solved, by and through correspondence ? I am afraid that is equally undesirable.

I may state for your information that I received a letter from Mr. Gandhi, dated October 19, 1937, and I replied to him on November 5, 1937, and I am still waiting to hear from him.

I reciprocate the sentiments expressed in the last but one paragraph of your letter at the end of it.

your sincerely,
(Sd). M. A. Jinnah.

MUSLIM RIGHTS

Copy of letter from Pandit Nehru to Mr. Jinnah, dated Wardha, February 4, 1938 :—

Dear Mr. Jinnah.—Your letter of January 25 reached Allahabad on February 1, after I had left. It has been forwarded to me here and reached mey esterday.

I am sorry that my previous letter was difficult to understand. My purpose in writing it was, as I stated, to find out what our points of difference and agreement were. **Presumably there are points of difference, as you have repeatedly criticised the Congress policy and practice. If these points of difference are noted down and our attention drawn to them, it would make their consideratio easier.**

It is possible that some of them may be due to misapprehension and this misapprehension might be removed; it is equally possible that some are more fundamental and then we could try to find a way out or, at any rate, know exactly how and where we stand, when there is a conflict of opinion, a clarification of the opposing opinions is an essential preliminary to their consideration.

FIVE LAKHS CHEQUE

I might mention some relatively minor matters which have apparently led to misapprehension. In one of your speeches you are referred to being told by some one that a cheque for Rs 5,00,000 was recently given to the Congress. I am not aware of this and presumably I ought to know. Indeed, to my knowledge, no one has given a cheque for Rs. 5,000 to the Congress for a considerable time.

In the same, or possibly another speech, you referred to the non-co-operation days and stated that while the Aligarh University was forced to close down and many non-co-operated from it, not a single student non-co-operated from the Benares University. As a matter of fact, a very large number of students did in fact non-co-operate from the Benares University. As a result of this a non-official university, the Kashi Vidyapitha, was established in Benares, as also the Gandhi Ashram. Both these still exist. In the same way the Jamia Millia came into existence in Aligarh and this now flourishes in Delhi.

"CRUSHING URDU"

You have referred in your speeches to the Congress imposing Hindi-Hindustani and trying to crush Urdu. I presume you were misinformed, for I am not aware of any attempt on the part of the Congress to injure Urdu. Some time back I wrote an essay on "The Question of Language" which represents, I believe, the Congress view-point. It was approved by Mr. Gandhi and by many people unconnected with the Congress and interested in the advancement of Urdu, including Maulvi Abdul Haq, Secretary of the Anjuman-e-Tarraqqi-e-Urdu of Hyderabad. I do not know if you have come across this essay. In any event, I am asking my office in Allahabad to send you a copy. If you disagree with the argument or conclusions of this essay, I shall be grateful to have your criticisms.

I might mention that the Congress Ministry in Madras is endeavouring to introduce the study of Hindustani in the State

schools in the province. They are having primers and text-books prepared especially for the purpose by the Jamia Millia. These primers are to be in two scripts—Devanagri and Urdu the students having the option of the script.

MINORITY RIGHTS

I mention these instances to show how misapprehensions arise. But the real questions at issue are more important and it is in regard to these that clarification is necessary. I presume you are acquainted with the Congress resolutions and statements on minority and fundamental rights and regarding communal questions. If you wish it, I can have these sent to you. Many of these were collected together in a comprehensive resolution passed by the Working Committee in Calcutta towards the end of October 1937. About the communal Award the Congress position has been repeatedly made clear.

The Congress policy as laid down in these resolutions may be incomplete or wrong. If so, we shall gladly consider suggestions to complete it or rectify it. Personally I do not see what more can be done by the Congress regarding religious or cultural matters. As for political (Commnnal) questions, the communal Award, unsatisfactory as it is, holds the field for the present and till such time as it may be altered by mutual agreement of the parties concerned.

PRESENT POLICY

In considering wider political questions, the congress has adhered to certain principles and policies for a number of years though minor variations have taken place from time to time. Our present policy in the legislatures and outside was defined by a comprehensive resolution passed by the Working Committee at Wardha last year. I was very glad to find from Nawab Ismail Khan and Choudhry Khaliquzzaman that the U.P. Muslim League Parliamentary Board, accepted this programme.

This included our objective of independence, our demand for a Constituent Assembly, our general attitude to the Constitution Act and the Federation, and our methods of work inside and outside the legislature. It referred also to our agrarian and labour programmes. Thus there appeared to be a very large measure of agreement between us not only in regard to fundamentals but even regarding many details.

HINDU RAJ

In view of this agreement, it distressed and surprised me to find that there was so much conflict. I have tried, therefore, to find out what this conflict is about. I do not see how I can make any proposal, concrete or vague, when I do not know what the points in issue are. **It is true that in reading your speeches I have come across various statements to the effect that the Congress is trying to establish a Hindu Raj. I am unaware of how this is**

being done or who is doing it. If any Congress Ministries or the Congress organisations have made mistakes these should be pointed to us.

A report of your Calcutta speech appeared in the newspapers at the time and is no doubt available to you, and for me to give you a purport of it seemed hardly necessary. In this you state that you are fighting the Congress leadership which is misleading the Hindus. Further, you have said that you want to bring the Congress High Command to its senses May I suggest that those who are privileged to advise or lead the Congress have no desire to fight anybody except British Imperialism ? In any event, if we mislead or misbehave we have a right to inquire from our critics where and how we have done so.

THE CHALLENGE

Further, in your Calcutta speech you said : "**I have long, long ago, months ago now, thrown out a challenge to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and I throw out a challenge now to him to come and sit with us and let us formulate a constructive programme which will give relief to the poor.**" It was to this challenge that I referred in my last letter. I do not remember on which previous occasion you had issued a similar challenge to me.

It is always helpful to discuss matters and problems face to face and, as I have said previously, we are always glad to do so. A short while ago, you met Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, one of our most respected leaders, than whom there is no one better fitted to explain the Congress viewpoint, in regard to the minorities problem or any other matter. Whenever necessity arises, everyone of us will willingly welcome a talk. But even such a talk is likely to be vague and infructuous if some clarification of ideas does not take place previously. Correspondence helps in this process and sometimes is even preferable as it is more precise than talk. I trust, therefore, that you will help in clarifying the position by telling us where we differ and how you would like this difference to end.

You have also criticised the Congress in vigorous language as you were, no doubt, entitled to do. But are we not entitled to ask you to substantiate those criticisms in private, at least, if not in public ?

THE LETTER TO GANDHIJI

I have inquired from Mahatma Gandhi about your letter to him dated November 5, 1937. He received it in Calcutta when he was lying ill there and he felt that it needed no answer. Your letter had been in answer to his and the matter seemed to end there for the time being. He was good enough to show me his letter and yours and it seemed to me that no particular reply was called for. I understand that he wrote you yesterday.

TALKING AT AND TALKING TO EACH OTHER

Copy of letter from Mr. Jinnah to Pandit Nehru, dated, New Delhi, 17th February, 1938 :—

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal,—I am in receipt of your letter of February 4. **You have now flung at me more complaints and grievances of a trifling character. Evidently you rely on that section of the press which is bent on misrepresenting and vilifying me, but I am glad that you say you mention these instances to show how misapprehension arises.** But the real question at issue is more important and it is in regard to this that clarification is necessary. Therefore, I don't think that useful purpose will be served by carrying on correspondence with regard to the various matters mentioned in your letter. You will please not introduce matters which you may have discussed with Nawab Ismail Khan or Choudhry Khalliquzzaman or anybody else. These again will lead to references and cross-references and the matter will never end.

CALCUTTA SPEECH

As regards my Calcutta speech, the word 'challenge' is obviously due to the imagination of the reporter for the very context shows clearly that it was an invitation. However, the points on which you had laid stress.

I am glad to know that you have been misreported, but you have not pointed out where the misrepresentation comes in, nor, so far as I know, have you issued any statement to the press correcting the misrepresentation.

May I suggest that it will be worthwhile to correct these errors so that the public might not be misled ? A clear and authoritative statement from you will help us also in understanding what you stand for and what you object to.

LEAGUE POLICY

I note that you do not wish to introduce in our correspondence any matters which we may have discussed with Nawab Ismail Khan or Choudhry Khaliquzzaman. I did not know that they represented any different viewpoints from yours. I thought it necessary to draw your attention to the repeated attempts I have been making to find out what the political and communal policy of the Muslim League is and wherein it differs from that of the Congress.

You will remember saying last year that the Muslim League had an entirely different policy even on political matters from that of the Congress. Since then the League has changed its objective and its economic outlook and has thus approached nearer to the Congress. I am anxious to find out what the real meaning of these changes is. Without this clarification it is difficult for us to understand the present position.

PRESS REPORTS

You say that you do not believe in the doctrine that I lay down, namely : "But are we not entitled to ask you to substantiate all these criticisms in private at least, if not in public ?"

Further, you say that for your part you make no such distinction and are prepared to substantiate anything that you have said publicly, provided it is correctly reported. If you will read my sentence again, you will, no doubt, observe that own discussion of all these matters in correspondence will lead us nowhere.

I do not believe in the doctrine which you lay down, "But are we not entitled to ask you to substantiate all these criticisms in private at least, if not in public ?" I, for my part, make no such distinction. I am prepared to substantiate anything that I have said publicly, provided it is correctly reported.

The crux of your letter on the real vital point of Hindu-Muslim unity is a repetition of what you said in your previous letter, namely, that you want me to note down 'the points of difference" and discuss them through and by correspondence—method which I made it clear in my last letter, is highly undesirable and most inappropriate. I welcome your suggestion when you say 'whenever necessity arises, every one of us would willingly welcome a talk.' If you think that the necessity has arisen and anyone of you is willing, I shall be glad to see you and equally welcome to talk. The thing is that you prefer talking to each other. Surely you know, and you ought to know, what are the fundamental points in dispute.

I have received a letter from Mahatma Gandhi and I have replied to him, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith—Yours sincerely, —*(Sd.) M. A. Jinnah*

LEAGUES' OBJECTIVE

Copy of letter from Pandit Nehru to Mr. Jinnah, dated Bombay February 25, 1938 :—

Dear Mr. Jinnah —Your letter of February 17 reached me at Haripura. I had no intention of flinging any complaints and grievances at you. In my attempt to find out what your complaints were, I read your speeches as reported in the newspapers (usually by a news agency) and noted down some of the points nobody laid down any such doctrine as you imagine. I would indeed welcome a public treatment by you of the criticism made by you. But if you yourself are unwilling to write to the press on the subject, as you indicated in your letter, I put it to you that we are at least entitled to request you to substantiate the criticism in private.

If you have made no criticisms of the Congress, and the press reports are entirely wrong then, of course, no question of substantiation arises. All that need be done is to contradict the press reports. But if the criticisms have been made, as presum-

ably they have been, then I would request you to justify them publicly or privately as you might choose. Personally I would prefer the former method.

WHAT IS IT ABOUT

I am afraid, I must confess that I do not yet know what the fundamental points of dispute are It is for this reason that I have been requesting you to clarify them. So far I have not received any help in this direction. Of course, we shall willingly meet you whenever opportunity arises Our President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, or Maulana Azad or I or any other member of the Working Committee can meet you at a suitable opportunity.

But when we meet, what are we to discuss ? Responsible people with organisations behind them can hardly discuss anything in the air. Some clarification of the issues, some clear statement of what is wanted and what is objected to, is always desirable, otherwise we may not come to grips with the subject.

You will remember the argument about what transpired at Delhi, in 1935 between you and Babu Rajendra Prasad. There has even been a difference of opinion about the facts. It would be unfortunate if we repeated this performance and then argued about it later.

It is thus highly desireable for us to define the issues first. This is also necessary as we may have always to consult many colleagues in regard to any matter affecting Congress policy There is surely nothing undesirable or inappropriate about this defining of issues by correspondence. It is the usual method adopted between individuals and organisations. May I, therefore, beg of you to enlighten me ?—Yours sincerely *(Sd.) Jawaharlal Nehru.*

LEGAL METHOD

Copy of letter from Mr. Jinnah to Mr. Nehru, dated New Delhi, March 3, 1938 :—

Dear Pandit Jawahar Lal.—I am in receipt of your letter of February 26. I regret to find the same spirit running through, of making insinuations and innuendoes and raising all sorts of matters of trifling character. which are not germane to our present subject with which you started, namely, how to find the basis of approach to the most vital and prominent question of Hindu-Muslim unity.

You wind up your letter by insisting upon the course that I should formulate the points in dispute and submit to you for your consideration and then carry on correspondence with you. This method I have already stated, in my considered opinion, is undesirable and inappropriate. The method you insist upon may be appropriate between two litigants and that is followed by solicitors on behalf of their clients, but national issues cannot be settled like that.

When you say : "I am afraid, I must confess that I do not know what the fundamental points in dispute are," I am only amazed

at your ignorance. This matter has been tackled since 1925 right upto 1935 by the most important leaders in the country and so far no solution has been found. I would beg of you to study it and do not take up a self-complacent attitude, and if you are in earnest, I don't think you will find much difficulty in realising what the main points in dispute are, because they have been constantly mentioned both in the Press and public platform even very recently.—*Yours sincerely,* (*Sd.*) *M.A. Jinnah.*

Copy of letter from Mr. Nehru to Mr. Jinnah, dated Allahabad, March 8, 1938 :—

Dear Mr. Jinnah,—Thank you for your letter of March 3. I am afraid our letters to each other repeat themselves. I go on requesting you to tell us what exactly are the points in dispute which have to be discussed and you go on insisting that this should not be done by correspondence.

At the same time you have pointed out that the main points in dispute have been constantly, and very recently, discussed in the Press statements and your public speeches. In my effort to discover these points of dispute I enumerated some of the criticisms which you were reported to have made in public speeches. In your reply you stated that you were misreported, but you did not say what the correct report should have been. Further, you said that these were minor and trifling matters, but again you did not point out what the major matters were. You will perceive my difficulty

GERMANE MATTERS

I hope I am not making any insinuations or innuendoes, as you suggest in your last letter. Certainly it is not my intention to do so, nor to raise trifling matters which are not germane to the present subject. But what are these matters which are germane? It may be that I am dense or not sufficiently acquainted with the intricacies of the problem If so, I deserve to be enlightened. If you will refer me to any recent statement made in the Press or platform which will help me in understanding, I shall be grateful.

It is not my desire, may I repeat, to carry on a controversy by correspondence, but only to find out what the main points in discussion or dispute are. It is surely usual for national issues to be formulated and clarified in this way to facilitate discussion. Both in national and international matters men are frequently adopting this course.

WARNING OF HISTORY

You are perfectly right in saying that this matter has been tackled since 1925 repeatedly. Do you not think that this very history warns us not to approach it in a vague manner without clear ideas as to what we object to and what we want? Apart from this, much has happened during these past few years which has altered

the position. For instance, the Communal Award. Do you want this to be discussed with a view to some settlement being arrived at on another basis?

RESOLUTIONS

It is obvious that the Congress is exceedingly anxious to remove all causes of misunderstanding and friction. Apart from wider national issues, it would like to do so because such misunderstanding comes in the way of its work. It has frequently considered the problem and passed such resolutions and put forward such proposals as it considered right. I do not wish to discuss as to whether these were right or not. That may be a matter for argument. But according to our lights we tried to do our best. If we did not succeed to the extent we hoped to do, that is our misfortune and we shall gladly consider suggestion which might lead to better results.

VARIOUS ASPECTS

What are the various aspects of this matter? May I enumerate them?

1. The Communal Award, which includes separate electorates and reservation of seates.

2. Religious guarantees.

3. Cultural protection and guarantees.

Presumably these are the three main heads. There may be some minor matters but I do not refer to them as you wish to concentrate on the main issues.

COMMUNAL AWARD

As regards the Communal Award, the position of the Congress has been clarified. If it is your desire to discuss this matter, I should like to know.

As regards religious and cultural guarantees, the Congress has given as full assurances and guarantees as is possible. If, however, any other guarantees are considered necessary, they should be mentioned. About one of the questions which you have referred to in your speeches, the language question, I have written to you previously and sent you my brochure. I trust that you agreed with its main conclusions.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Are we going to discuss these matters or some others which I have not mentioned above? Then again the background of all such discussions must necessarily be a certain political and economic one—our struggle for independence, our anti-imperialism, our methods of direct action whenever necessary, our anti-war policy, our attempt to remove the exploitation of the masses, agrarian labour problems, and the like. I take it that with the re-orientation of the Muslim League's policy there will not be any great differences regarding this anti-imperialist background.

You will forgive me for repeating myself in these letters and for asking the same thing over and over again. I do so because I am keenly desirous of your appreciating my view-point, which I believe is also the view-point of my colleagues in the Congress. I have no desire to take up your time and to spend my time in writing long letters. But my mind demands clarity before it can function effectively or think in terms of any action. Vagueness, or an avoidance of real issues cannot lead to satisfactory results. It does seem strange to me that inspite of my repeated requests I am not told what issues have to be discussed.

I understand that Gandhiji has already written to you expressing his readiness to have a talk with you. I am not now the Congress President and thus have not the same representative capacity, but if I can be of any help in this matter, my services are at the disposal of the Congress and I shall gladly meet you and discuss these matters with you—Yours sincerely, (Sd.) Jawahar Lal.

FOURTEEN POINTS AND UTTERANCES OF HARIPURA

Copy of letter from Mr. Jinnah to Mr. Nehru, dated New Delhi, March 17, 1938 :—

Dear Pandit Jawahar Lal,— I have received your letter of March 8, 1938. Your first letter of January 18 conveyed to me that you desire to know the points in dispute for the purpose of promoting Hindu-Muslim unity. When in reply I said that the subject-matter could not be solved by correspondence and it was equally undesirable as discussing matters in the Press, you in your reply of February 4, formulated a catalogue of grievances with regard to my supposed criticism of the Congress and utterances which are hardly relevant to the question for our immediate consideration. You went on persisting on the same line and you are still of the opinion that those matters, although not germane to the present subject, should be further discussed, which I do not propose to do, as I have already explained to you in my previous letter.

SAFEGUARDING RIGHTS

The question with which we started, as I understand, is of safeguarding the rights and the interests of the Muslims with regard to their religion, culture, language, personal laws and political rights in the national life, the government and the administration of the country.

Various suggestions have been made which will satisfy the Muslims and create a sense of security and confidence in the majority community.

I am surprised when you say in your letter under reply : "But what are these matters which are germane? It may be that I am dense or not sufficiently acquainted with the intricacies of the problem. If so, I deserve to be enlightened. If you will refer to me to any recent statement made in the Press or platform which will help me in understanding, I shall be grateful."

AT HARIPURA

Perhaps you have heard of the Fourteen Points.

Next, you say : "Apart from this, much has happened during these past few years which has altered the position." Yes, I agree with you, and various suggestions have appeared in the newspapers recently. For instance, if you will refer to the *Statesman*, dated February 12, 1938, there appears an article under the heading "Through Muslim Eyes" (copy enclosed for your convenience). Next, an article in the *New Times*, dated March 1, 1938, dealing with your pronouncement recently made, I believe, at the Haripura session of the Congress, where you are reported to have said : "I have examined this so-called communal question through the telescope and if there is nothing what can you see?"

This article in the *New Times*, appeared on March 1, 1938, making various suggestions (copy enclosed for your convenience). Further, you must have seen Mr. Aney's interview where he warned the Congress mentioning some of the points which the Muslim League would demand.

NOT A PETITIONER

Now, this is enough to show to you that various suggestions that have been made, or are likely to be made, or are expected to be made will have to be analysed, and ultimately I consider it is the duty of every true nationalist, to whichever party or community he may belong to make it his business and examine the situation and bring about a pact between the Muslims and the Hindus and create a real united front ; and it should be as much your anxiety and duty as it is mine, irrespective of the question of the party or the community to which we belong. But if you desire that I should collect all these suggestions and submit to you as a petitioner for you and your colleagues to consider, I am afraid I can't do it, nor can I do it for the purpose of carrying on further correspondence with regard to those various points with you. But you still insist upon that, as you seem to do so when you say in your letter : "My mind demands clarity before it can function effectively or think in terms of any action. Vagueness or an avoidance of real issues could not lead to satisfactory results. It does seem strange to me that in spite of my request I am not told what issues have to be discussed." This is hardly a correct description or a fair representation. But in that case I would request you to ask the Congress officially to communicate with me to that effect, and I shall place the matter before the Council of the All-India Muslim League. You yourself say that you are "not the Congress President and thus have not the same representative capacity, but if I can be of any help in this matter, my services are at the disposal of the Congress and I shall gladly meet you and discuss these matters with you." As to meeting you and discussing matters with you, I need hardly say that I shall be pleased to do so—Yours, sincerely,

(Sd). M. A. Jinnah.

CONFLICT WITH SPIRIT OF INDEPENDENCE

• *Copy of letter from Nehru to Mr Jinnah, dated Calcutta, April 6, 1938:—*

Dear Jinnah :— Your letter of March 17 reached in the Kumaun Hills where I had gone for brief holiday. From there I have come to Calcutta. I propose to return to Allahabad to-day and I shall probably be there for the greater part of April. If it is convenient for you to come there we could meet. Or if it suits you better to go to Lucknow, I shall try to go there.

I am glad that you have indicated in your last letter a number of points which you have in mind. The enclosures you have sent mention these and I take it that they represent your viewpoint. I was somewhat surprised to see this list as I had no idea that you wanted to discuss many of these matters with us. Some of these are wholly covered by previous decisions of the Congress, some others are hardly capable of discussion.

POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

As far as I can make out from your letter and the enclosures you have sent, you wish to discuss the following matters :—

The Fourteen Points formulated by the Muslim League in 1929.

2. The Congress should withdraw all opposition to the Communal Award and should not describe it as a negation of nationalism.

3. The share of the Muslims in the state services should be definitely fixed in the constitution by statutory enactment.

4. Muslim personal law and culture should be guaranteed by statute.

5. The Congress should take in hand the agitation in connection with the Shahidganj Mosque and should use its moral pressure to enable the Muslims to gain possession of the mosque.

6. The Muslims' right to call Azan and perform their religious ceremonies should not be fettered in anyway.

7. Muslims should have freedom to perform cow-slaughter.

8. Muslim majorities in the provinces, where such majorities exist at present, must not be affected by any territorial re-distribution or adjustments.

9. The Bande Mataram song should be given up.

10. Muslims want Urdu to be the national language of India and desire to have statutory guarantees that the use of Urdu shall not be curtailed or damaged

11. Muslim representation in the local bodies should be governed by the principles underlying the Communal Award, that is, separate electorates and population strength.

12. The tri-colour flag should be changed or, alternatively, the flag of the Muslim League should be given equal importance.

13. Recognition of the Muslim League as the one authoritative and representative organisation of Indian Muslims.

14. Coalition Ministries.

It is further stated that the formula evolved by you and Babu Rajendra Prasad in 1935 does not satisfy the Muslims now and nothing on those lines will satisfy them.

FURTHER "DEMANDS"

It is added that the list given above is not a complete list and it can be augmented by the addition of further "demands." Not knowing these possible and unlimited additions I can say nothing about them. But I should like to deal with the various matters specifically mentioned and to indicate what Congress attitude has been in regard to them.

But before considering them, the political and economic background of the free India we are working for has to be kept in mind, for ultimately that is the controlling factor. Some of these matters do not arise in considering an independent India or take a particular shape or have little importance. We can discuss them in terms of Indian independence or in terms of British dominance of India continuing.

INDEPENDENCE

The Congress naturally thinks in terms of Independence, though it adjusts itself occassionally to the present transitional and temporary phases. It is thus not interested in amendments to the present constitution, but aims at its complete removal and its substitution by a constitution framed by the Indian people through a Constituent Assembly. Another matter has assumed an urgent and vital significance and this is the exceedingly critical international situation and the possibility of war. This must concern India greatly and affect her struggle for freedom. This must, therefore, be considered the governing factor of the situation and almost everything else becomes of secondary importance, for all our efforts and petty arguments will be of little avail if the very foundation is upset.

CONDITION OF MASSES

The Congress has clearly and repeatedly laid down its policy in the event of such a crisis and stated that it will be no party to imperialist war. Peace, therefore, and Indian independence are its basic policy. The Congress will very gladly and willingly co-operate with the Muslim League and all other organisations and individuals in the furtherance of this policy.

I have carefully looked through the various matters to which you have drawn attention in your letter and its enclosures, and I find that there is nothing in them which refers or touches the economic demand of the masses or affects the all-important questions of poverty and unemployment. For all of us in India these are the vital issues, and unless some solution is found for them we function in vain.

STATE SERVICES

The question of state services, howsoever important and worthy of consideration it might be, affects a very small number of people. The peasantry, industrial workers, artisans and petty shopkeepers form the vast majority of the population and they are not improved in any way by any of the demands listed above. Their interests should be paramount.

Many of the "demands" involve changes of the constitution which we are not in a position to bring about. Even if such changes are desirable in themselves, it is not our policy to press for minor constitutional changes. We want to do away completely with the present constitution and replace it by another for a free India.

STATUTORY GUARANTEES

In the same way the desire for statutory guarantees involves constitutional changes which we cannot give effect to. All we can do is to state that in a future constitution for a free India we want certain guarantees to be incorporated. We have done this in regard to religious, cultural, linguistic and other rights of minorities in the Karachi Resolution on Fundamental Rights. We should like these fundamental rights to be made a part of the constitution.

OUT-OF-DATE DEMANDS

I now deal with the various matters listed above.

1. Fourteen points, I have thought, were somewhat out of date. Many of their provisions have been given effect to by the Communal Award in other ways; some others are entirely acceptable to the Congress; yet others require constitutional changes which, as I have mentioned above, are beyond our present competence. Apart from the matters covered by the Communal Award and those involving a change in the constitution, one or two matters remain which give rise to differences of opinion which are still likely to lead to considerable arguments.

2. The Congress has clearly stated its attitude towards the Communal Award and it comes to this that it seeks alterations only on the basis of mutual consent of the parties concerned. I do not understand how any one can take objection to this attitude and policy. If we are asked to describe the Award as not being anti-national, that would be patently false. Even apart from what it gives to various groups, its whole basis and structure are anti-national and come in the way of the development of national unity. As you know it gives an over-whelming and wholly undeserving weightage to the European elements in certain parts of India. If we think in terms of independent India, we cannot possibly fit in this Award with it. It is true that under stress of circumstances we have sometimes to accept as a temporary measure something that is on the face of it anti-national. It is also true that in the matters governed by the Communal Award, we can only find a satisfactory and abiding solution by the consent and goodwill of the parties concerned. This is the Congress policy.

FIXING OF SHARES

3. The fixing of the Muslims' share in the State services by statutory enactment necessarily involves the fixing of the shares of other groups and communities similarly. This would mean a rigid and compartmental State structure which will impede progress and development. At the same time it is generally admitted that State appointments should be fairly and adequately distributed but no community should have cause to complain. It is far better to do this by convention and agreement.

The Congress is fully alive to this issue and desires to meet the wishes of various groups in the fullest measure, so as to give to all minorities as stated in No. 11 of the fourteen points, "an adequate share in all the services of the State and in local self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements and efficiency." The State to-day is becoming more and more technical and demands expert knowledge in its various departments.

It is right that, if a community is backward in this technical and expert knowledge, special efforts should be made to give it this education to bring it up to a higher level, I understand that at the Unity Conference held at Allahabad in 1933 or thereabouts, a mutually satisfactory solution on this question of State services was arrived at.

4. As regards protection of culture, the Congress has decided its willingness to embody this in the fundamental laws of the constitution. It has also declared that it does not wish to interfere in any way with personal law of any community.

SHAHIDGANJ

5. I am considerably surprised at the suggestions that the Congress should take in hand the agitation in connection with the Shahidganj mosque. That is a matter to be decided either legally or by mutual agreement. The Congress prefers in all such matters the way of mutual agreement, and its services can always be utilized for this purpose where there is no opening for them and a desire to this effect on the part of the parties concerned. I am glad that the Premier of the Punjab has suggested that this is the only satisfactory way to a solution of the problem.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

6. The right to perform religious ceremonies should certainly be guaranteed to all communities. The Congress resolution about this is quite clear. I know nothing about the particular incident relating to the Punjab village which has been referred to. No doubt many instances can be gathered from various parts of India where petty interference takes place with Hindu, Muslim or Sikh ceremonies. These have to be tactfully dealt with wherever they arise. But the principle is quite clear and should be agreed to.

COW-SLAUGHTER

7. As regards cow-slaughter, there has been a great deal of entirely false and unfounded propaganda against the Congress suggesting that the Congress was going to stop it forcibly by legislation. The Congress does not wish to undertake any legislative action in this matter to restrict the established rights of the Muslims.

8. The question of territorial distribution has not arisen in any way. If and when it arises it must be dealt with on the basis of mutual agreement of the parties concerned.

BANDE MATRAM

9. Regarding the Bande Matram song, the Working Committee issued a long statement in October last, to which I would invite your attention. First of all, it has to be remembered that no formal national anthem has been adopted by the Congress at any time. It is true, however, that the Bande Matram song has been intimately associated with Indian nationalism for more than thirty years and numerous associations of sentiment and sacrifice have gathered round it. Popular songs are not made to order, nor can they be successfully imposed. They grow out of public sentiment.

During all these thirty or more years the Bande Matram song was treated as a national song in praise of India. Nor, to my knowledge, was any objection taken to it except on political grounds by the Government. When, however, some objections were raised, the Working Committee carefully considered the matter and ultimately decided to recommend that certain stanzas which contained certain allegorical references, might not be used on national platforms or occasions.

The two stanzas that have been recommended by the Working Committee for use as a national song have not a word or a phrase which can offend anybody from any point of view, and I am surprised that anyone can object to them. They may appeal to some more than to others. Some may prefer another national song ; they have full freedom to do so But to compel large numbers of people to give up what they have long valued and grown attached to is to cause needless hurt to them and injure the national movement itself. It would be improper for a national organisation to do this.

URDU AND HINDI

10. About Urdu and Hindi I have previously written to you and have also sent you my pamphlet on "The Question of Language". The Congress has declared in favour of guarantees to provincial languages of India, and at the same time, to make Hindustani, as written both in the Nagri and Urdu scripts, the national language. Both scripts should be officially recognised and the choice should be left to the people concerned. in fact, this policy is being pursued by the Congress Ministries.

JOINT ELECTORATES

11. The Congress has long been of opinion that joint electorates are preferable to separate electorates from the point of view of national unity and harmonious co-operation between the different communities. But joint electorates, in order to have real value, must not be imposed on unwilling groups. Hence the Congress is quite clear that their introduction should depend on their acceptance by the people concerned. This is the policy that is being pursued by the Congress Ministries in regard to local bodies.

Recently in a bill dealing with local bodies introduced in the Bombay Assembly separate electorates were maintained but an option was given to the people concerned to adopt the joint electorate, if they so chose. This principle seems to be in exact accordance with No. 5 of the fourteen points, which lays down that "representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, porvided that it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorates." It surprises me that the Muslim League group in the Bombay Assembly should have opposed the bill with its option although this carried out the very policy of the Muslim League.

BALUCHISTAN

May I also point out that in the resolution passed by the Muslim League in 1929, at the time it adopted the 14 points, it was stated that "the Mussalmans will not consent to joint electorates unless Sind is actually constituted into a separate province and reforms in fact are introduced in the N. W. F. Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces." Since then Sind has been separated and the N. W. F. Province has been placed on a level with other provinces. So far as Baluchistan is concerned the Congress is committed to a levelling up of this area in the same way.

TRI-COLOUR FLAG

12. The National tri-colour flag was adopted originally in 1929 by the Congress after full and careful consultation with eminent Muslim, Sikh and other leaders. Obviously a country and national movement must have a national flag representing the nation and all communities in it. No communal flag can represent the nation. If we did not possess a national flag now we would have to evolve one. The present national flag had its colours originally selected in order to represent the various communities but we did not like to lay stress on this communal aspect of the colours.

Artistically I think the combination of orange, white and green has resulted in a flag which is probably the most beautifu of all national flags. For these many years our flag has been used

and it has spread to the remotest village and brought hope and courage and a sense of all-India unity to our masses. It has been associated with great sacrifices on the part of our people, including Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, and many have suffered lathi blows and imprisonment and even death in defending it from insult or injury. Thus a powerful sentiment has grown up in its favour. On innumerable occasions Maulana Mohamed Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali and many leaders of the Muslim League to-day have associated themselves with this flag and emphasised its virtues and significance as a symbol of Indian unity. It has spread outside the Congress ranks and been generally recognised as the flag of the nation. It is difficult to understand how any one can reasonably object to it now.

Communal flags cannot obviously take its place, for that can only mean a host of flags of various communities being used together and thus emphasising our disunity and separateness. Communal flags might be used for religious functions but they have no place at any national functions or over any public buildings meant for various communities.

INSULTS BY LEAGUE

May I add that during the past few months, on several occasions, the national flag has been insulted by some members or volunteers of the Muslim League? This has pained us greatly but we have deliberately avoided anything in the nature of conflict in order not to add to communal bitterness. We have also issued strict orders, and they have been obeyed, that no interference should take place with the Muslim League flag even though it might be inappropriately displayed.

LEAGUE'S STATUS

13. I do not understand what is meant by our recognition of the Muslim League as the one and only organisation of Indian Muslims. Obviously the Muslim League is an important communal organisation and we deal with it as such. But we have to deal with all organisations and individuals that come within our ken. We do not determine the measure of importance or distinction they possess. There are a large number, about a hundred thousand of Muslims on the Congress rolls, many of whom have been our close companions, in prisons and outside, for many years and we value their comradeship highly. There are many organisations which contain Muslims and non-Muslims alike, such as Trade Union, peasant union, kisan sabhas, debt committees, zamindar associations, chambers of commerce, and employers' associations, and we have contacts with them. There are special Muslim organisations such as the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Proja Party, the Ahrar and others, which claim attention. Inevitably the more important the organisation, the more the attention paid to it, but this importance does not come from outside recognition but from inherent strength. And the other organisations, even though they might be younger and smaller, cannot be ignored.

COALITION MINISTRIES

I should like to know what is meant by coalition. A ministry must have a definite political and economic programme and policy. Any other kind of ministry would be a disjoined and ineffective body, with no clear mind or direction. Given a common political and economic programme and policy, co-operation is easy. You know probably that some such co-operation was sought for and obtained by the Congress in the Frontier Province. In Bombay also repeated attempts were made on behalf of the Congress to obtain this co-operation on the basis of a common programme. The Congress has gone to the Assemblies with a definite programme and in furtherance of clear policy. It will always gladly co-operate with other groups whether it is in a majority or a minority in an Assembly, in furtherance of that programme and policy. On that basis I can conceive of even Coalition Ministries being formed. Without that basis the Congress has no interest in a Ministry or in an Assembly.

APPEAL FOR UNITY

I have dealt, I am afraid at exceeding length, with the various points raised in your letter and its enclosures. I am glad that I have had a glimpse into your mind through this correspondence, as this enables me to understand a little better the problems that are before you and perhaps others. I agree entirely that it is the duty of every Indian to bring about harmonious joint effort of all of us for the achievement of India's freedom and the ending of the poverty of her people. For me, and I take it for most of us, the Congress has been a means to that end and not an end in itself. It has been a high privilege for us to work through the Congress because it has drawn to itself the love of millions of our countrymen, and through their sacrifice and united effort taken us a long way to our goal. But much remains to be done and we have all to pull together to that end.

BASIC UNDERSTANDING.

Personally, the idea of pacts and the like does not appeal to me, though perhaps they might be necessary occasionally. What seems to me far more important is a more basic undersanding of each other, bringing with it the desire and ability to co-operate together. The larger co-operation, if it is to include our millions, must necessarily be in the interests of these millions. My mind, therefore, is continually occupied with the problems of these unhappy masses of this country and I view all other problems in this light. I should like to view the communal problem also in this perspective, for otherwise it has no great significance for me.

PETITIONING

You seem to imagine that I wanted you to put forward suggestions as a petitioner, and then you propose that the Congress should officially communicate with you. Surely you have misunder-

stood me and done yourself and me an injustice. There is no question of petitioning either by you or by me, but a desire to understand each other and the problem that we have been discussing. I do not understand the significance of your wanting an official intimation from the Congress. I did not ask you for an official reply on behalf of the Muslim League. Organisations do not function in this way. It is not a question of prestige for the Congress or for any of us, for we are keener on reaching the goal we have set before us than on small matters of prestige. The Congress is a great enough organisation to ignore such petty matters, and if some of us have gained a measure of influence and popularity, we have done so in the shadow of the Congress.

ATTACKS ON CONGRESS

You will remember that I took the initiative in writing to you and requesting you to enlighten me as to what your objections were to the Congress policy and what according to you, were the points in dispute. I had read many of your speeches, as reported in the Press, and I found to my regret that they were full of strong attacks on the Congress which, according to my way of thinking were not justified. I wanted to remove any misunderstanding where such existed, and to clear the air.

FALSEHOODS

I have found, chiefly in the Urdu press, the most astounding falsehoods about the Congress. I refer to facts, not to opinion, and to facts within my knowledge. Two days ago, here in Calcutta, I saw a circular letter or notice issued by a Secretary of a Muslim League. This contained a list of the so-called misdeeds of the U.P. Government. I read this with amazement for there was not an iota of truth in most of the charges. I suppose they were garnered from the Urdu press.

Through the Press and platform such charges have been repeated on numerous occasions and communal passions have thus been roused and bitterness created. This has grieved me and I have sought by writing to you and to Nawab Ismail Khan to find a way of checking this deplorable deterioration of our public life as well as a surer basis for co-operation. That problem still faces us and I hope we shall solve it.

WORLD CRISIS

I have mentioned earlier in this letter the critical international situation and the terrible sense of impending catastroph that hangs over the world. My mind is obsessed with this and want India to realise it and be ready for all consequences, good or ill that may follow from it. In this period of world crisis all of us to whatever party or group we might belong and whatever on differences might be, have the primary duty of holding together to protect our people from the perils that might encompass them. Our differences and arguments seem trivial when the future of the

world and India hangs in the balance. It is in the hope that all of us will succeed in building up this larger unity in our country that I have written to you and others repeatedly and at length.

There is one small matter I should like to mention. The report of my speech at Haripura, as given in your letter and the newspaper article, is not correct.

PUBLICITY

We have been corresponding for some time and many vague rumours are afloat as to what we have been saying to each other. Anxious inquiries come to me and I have no doubt that similar inquiries are addressed to you also. I think that we might take the public into our confidence now, for this is a public matter in which many are interested. I suggest, therefore, that our correspondence might be released to the Press. I presume you will have no objection,—Yours sincerely, (Sd.) Jawaharlal Nehru.

Copy of letter from Mr. Jinnah to Mr. Nehru, dated Bombay, April 12, 1938 :—

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal,—I am in receipt of your letter of April 6, 1938. I am extremely obliged to you for informing me that you propose to return to Allahabad and shall probably be there for a greater part of April and suggesting that if it would be convenient for me to come there, we could meet, or if it suits me better to go to Lucknow, you will try to go there. I am afraid that it is not possible for me owing to my other engagements, but I shall be in Bombay about the end of April and if it is convenient to you, I shall be very glad to meet you.

TURNING AND TWISTING

As to the rest of your letter. It has been to me a most painful reading. It seems to me that you cannot even accurately interpret my letter, as you very honestly say that your mind is oppressed with the international situation and the sense of impending catastrophe that hangs over the world, so you are thinking in terms entirely divorced from the realities which face us in India. I can only express my regret at your turning and twisting what I wrote to you and putting entirely a wrong complexion upon the position I have placed before you at your request. You have formulated certain points in your letter which you gather upon me to begin with as my proposals.

MUSLIM MIND

I sent you extracts from the press which had recently appeared simply because I believed you when you repeatedly asserted and appealed to me that you would be grateful if I would refer you to any recent statements made in the press or platform which would help you in understanding matters. Those are some of the matters which are undoubtedly agitating Muslim India, but the question how

to meet them and to what extent and by what means and methods, is the business, so I have said before, of every true nationalist to solve.

Whether constitutional changes are necessary, whether we should do it by agreement or convention and so forth, are matters, I thought, were for discussion. But I am extremely sorry to find that you have in your letter already pronounced your judgment and given your decision on a good discussion which may lead to a settlement, as you start by saying: "I was so much surprised to see this list as I have no idea that you wanted to discuss many of these matters with us; some of these are wholly covered by previous decisions of the Congress, some others are hardly capable of discussion." And then you proceed to your own conclusions, having formulated the points according to your own notions.

ARROGANT TONE

Your tone and language again display the same arrogance and militant spirit, as if the Congress is the Sovereign Power, and as an indication, you extend your patronage by saying that "obviously the Muslim League is an important communal organisation and we deal with it as such, as we have to deal with all organisations and individuals that come within our ken. We do not determine the measures of importance of distinction they possess." And then you mention various other organisations . . Here I may add that in my opinion, as I have publicly stated so often, that unless the Congress recognizes the Muslim League on a footing of complete equality and is prepared as such to negotiate for a Hindu-Muslim settlement, we shall have to wait and depend upon our inherent strength which will "determine the measure of importance and distinction it possesses". Having regard to your mentality it is really difficult for me to make you understand the position any further. Of course, as I have said before, I do not propose to discuss the various matters, referred to by you, by means of and through correspondence, as, in my opinion that is not the way to tackle this matter.

FALSEHOODS ABOUT LEAGUE

With regard to your reference to certain falsehoods that have appeared about the Congress in Urdu press, which, you say, have astounded you, and with regard to the circular letter referred to about the misdeeds of the U.P. Government, I can express no opinion without investigation, but I can give you any number of falsehoods that have appeared in the Congress press and in statements of Congressmen with regard to the All-India Muslim League, some of the leaders and those who are connected with it. Similarly, I can give instances which are deliberately appearing in the Congress press and speeches of Congressmen which are daily deliberately misrepresenting, vilifying the Muslim composition of the Bengal, Sind, Punjab and Asam Governments with a view to break those Governments, but that is not the subject-matter of our correspondence and besides no useful purpose will be served in doing so.

With regard to your request that our correspondence should be released to the press. I have no objection provided that the correspondence between me and Mr. Gandhi is also published simultaneously, as we both have referred to him and his correspondence with me in ours. You will please, therefore, obtain the permission of Mr. Gandhi, to that effect or, if you will, I will write to him, informing him that you desire to release the correspondence between us to the press, and I am willing to agree to it, provided he agrees that the correspondence between him and I will have no objection.—

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) M.A. Jinnah.

PLEA FOR FRANKER APPROACH

Copy of letter from Nehru to Mr. Jinnah, dated Allahabad, April 16, 1938.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,—Your letter of April 12 has just reached me.

I am exceedingly sorry that anything that I have written to you should have caused you pain. It seems to be true that we approach public problems from different stand-points and inevitably I try to place my viewpoint before you and seek to gain your appreciation of it. To say anything that might pain you would defeat my own purpose, even apart from its impropriety.

At the same time, I owe it to you, and to myself to endeavour to place frankly before you how my mind works and what my views are on the subject-matter under discussion. Our viewpoints might differ, but I do believe that the margin of difference can be lessened by a frank approach on either side. I have sought to make this approach in all sincerity and with every desire on my part not to say anything that might come in the way.

In my last letter I dealt with the various points mentioned in the extracts you had sent me, as I presume that, as you had drawn my attention to them, they might to a large extent represent what you had in mind. As you know, I have been trying to get at these points of difference and when I saw something concrete I want to give my reaction to it. I tried to state what the Congress opinion has been in regard to them. There is no finality in day-to-day politics, although certain principles are supposed to govern policies. It is for the Congress, if it so chooses, to vary that policy. All I can do is to state what the past and present policy is.

OBSESSION

I regret that you think that I write in an arrogant and militan spirit and as if I considered the Congress as the Sovereign Power, and that it is circumscribed in a hundred ways and further that it may have to go through the wilderness many a time again before it achieved its objective.

You have referred to my obsession with the international situation and the sense of impending catastrophe that possesses me. If I feel that way, as I do I can hardly grow complacent or imagine that the Congress is a Sovereign Body. But when I discuss Congress policies, as a Congressman, I can only repeat what these are and not bring in my own particular view on the subject if these happen to be at variance with Congress resolution.

You point out that the Congress has contained numerous falsehoods in regard to the Muslim League and some of its leaders as well as the provincial Governments of Bengal, Punjab, Sind and Assam. I entirely agree with you that falsehoods, misrepresentations and insinuations are to be deprecated and countered wherever they might occur, in the Urdu, Hindi or English press, or whatever the political complexion of the newspaper. There is no such thing as the Congress press over which the Congress has control, but it is true that many newspapers generally support the Congress. But whether we can influence them or not, we certainly want to stop all such false and misleading statements and to express our disapproval of them. In this matter I can only beg of you to point out specific instances so that we might take necessary action.

I note what you say about the publication of our correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi. I am, therefore, writing to him to seek his permission as suggested by you.

I am afraid it will hardly be possible for me to visit Bombay in April or May. Early in June, I intend sailing for Europe. In case I go to Bombay earlier I shall inform you so that we might have the opportunity of meeting. I understand that you will be meeting Mahatma Gandhi in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) Jawaharlal Nehru

VI

STOP COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

Letters have been exchanged between Congress leaders and Mr. Hoosainbhoy Laljee. President of the All Parties Shia Conference, in regard to the political rights of the Shia community.

In his reply to Mr. Hoosainbhoy Laljee, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says: "I know well that the Shia community has in the past suffered in political representation and otherwise under the system at present prevailing in India. Separate electorates, which have done so much injury to India as a whole, and I believe to the Muslims also, have particularly hit the Shias. Normally the Shias have few chances of getting elected by Muslim separate electorates. The argument that can be advanced for separate electorates for Musalmans as a whole can equally be advanced for the Shias as a minority group among the Muslims of India. But it is clear that this kind of infinite division of the electorate into separate compartments is likely to do grave injury not only to the cause of India as a whole, but more

especially to the minority communities, which are supposed to be protected. The only way out is to have common electorates for all. The matter naturally can only be settled by the goodwill of the parties concerned.

HUMAN RIGHTS

"Every community, and indeed every individual, has a right to protection and opportunities for self-development. A free India must guarantee these human rights to everybody. We are apt to look at the problem in the context of to-day with the third party, that is, the British Government, controlling our destinies and a political and economic system which really ignores the interests of the vast majority of our people, to whatever religion they might belong. We think in terms of future jobs or a future place in the legislature. That is important enough, but it is only a small part of the problem of providing not for a few, but for all in India. Free India will necessarily think in different terms. In providing protection and opportunities of growth to individuals and groups, it has to be borne in mind that no system, based on unfair representation, can be stable or just."

SEPARATE ELECTORATE ISOLATES COMMUNITY

Pandit Nehru adds: "What the future constitution of India will be is more than I can say. Ultimately the people of India will decide as they choose. Whatever that decision may be, it should ensure the sense of freedom and growth to all groups and communities. I have an idea that system will be very different from our present system. In such a system the legitimate claims of the Shias as of others, should be borne in mind. But you will realise that the extension of the principle of separate electorates does not really protect but isolates the community concerned from others. Thus instead of each thinking of the good of the other, we have been each thinking and working in separate compartments and forgetting the whole. Obviously also we cannot think in terms of the majority overriding the minorities' wishes. Provisions have to be made to prevent this. All these questions and others will have to be carefully considered in the new context and I trust that the solution we find in co-operation with others will go a long way to remove the grievances of the Shia community, as of others."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his reply says: "The very principle of communal representation is an undesirable constitutional development in itself. To extend this principle further to different sections of a religious community would make the political situation which is already difficult, even more difficult. But I assure you that I am not unaware of the feelings of the Shia community under the existing circumstances and they have all my sympathy. Further I have no hesitation in stating that the Congress will sympathetically consider the difficulties to which you have given expression and will try to find ways and means of remedying your legitimate grievances.

February 25, 1940.

SECTION XXII

In The Wake of War

Britain has often marched India behind her like a cow in the wake of war. Left to herself, India will wage a war against the war. The ideology of India is based on peace and war is not to our taste. In the following sheaf of quotations we find the views of Jawaharlal regarding war and British imperialism which is the root-cause of all wars. To the average Englishman war has not been a pleasant experience. The common people all over the world are in favour of the cessation of war.

War is an expensive business, a terribly expensive business. I swallows up mountains of valuable material, and only has devastation to show for it. It stops most wealth-producing activities and concentrates people's energy on destruction. Where was all this money to come from ? To begin with, on the side of the Allies, only England and France could be considered well off. They paid not only their own share of the war expenses, but also paid for their allies by lending money and material to them. After sometime Paris gave way ; its financial resources were exhausted. London then financed the Allied side of the war alone By the end of the second year of the war, London also gave way. So towards the end of 1916 both French and English credit was at an end. Then an English mission consisting of prominent statesmen went to America to beg for financial help. America agreed to lend money, and thence-forward it was American money that carried on the war on the side of the Allies. **The debt of the Allies to America grew by leaps and bounds to amazing figures, and, as it grew, the big banks and the financiers in America, who had lent the money, became more and more interested in an Allied victory. If the Allies were defeated by Germany, what would happen to the vast sums that America had lent to them ? The American banker's pocket was touched, and he reacted accordingly. Sentiment in favour of America joining the Allies in the war was developed, and ultimately America did so.**

THE CALL OF THE DEAD

The call of the dead, who have sacrificed themselves in a cause they held dear, is a terrible thing. Who that has any spirit in him or her can resist it? Darkness reigned everywhere during these last years of war, and there was sorrow in every home in the warring

countries, and a weariness, and disillusion, yet what could one do but hold the torch aloft? Read this moving poem, written by a British officer, Major McCrae, and try to imagine how it must have affected the men and women of his race who read it in those black and dreary war days. And remember that similar poems were written in various countries and in many languages.

> We are the Dead. Short days ago
> We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
> Loved and were loved, and now we lie
> In Flanders Fields.
>
> Take up our quarrel with the foe:
> To you from failing hands we throw
> The torch; be yours to hold it high.
> If ye break faith with us who die
> We shall not sleep, though Poppies grow
> In Flanders Fields.

TOEING THE LINE

India, as a part of the British Empire, was of course directly involved in the World War. But there was no actual fighting in or near India. Nonetheless, the war influenced developments in India in a variety of ways, both directly and indirecly, and thus brought about considerable changes. Her resources were used up to the fullest extent to help the Allies.

It was not India's war. India had no grievance against the German Powers, and, as for Turkey, there was great sympathy for her. But India had no choice in the matter. She was but a dependency of Britain, forced to toe the line of her imperialist mistress. And so, in spite of much resentment in the country, Indian soldiers fought against Turks and Egyptians and others, and made India's name bitterly disliked in western Asia.

The experience of the war showed that only highly industrialized countries can carry on a war effectively. Tsarist Russia broke down ultimately in the war because it was not sufficiently industrialized and had to rely on other countries. England fears that the next war may be a war with Soviet Russia at the Indian frontier. If India has not got her own big industries, the British Government will not be able to carry on the war properly on the frontier. This is too great a risk. Therefore, again, India should be industrialized.

For these reasons, inevitably, British policy changed and the industrialization of India was decided upon. The larger imperial policy of Britain demanded it, even at the cost of Lancashire and some other British industries. Of course Britain made out that this change was due to the British Government's exceeding love of India and her welfare. Having decided upon this policy, Britain took steps to ensure that the real control of the new industry in India would remain in the hands of British capitalists. The Indian capitalist is obligingly taken as a very junior partner in the concern.

WEAVERS OF FINE PHRASES

President Woodrow Wilson came with a vast reputation and popularity. He had used so many beautiful and idealistic phrases in his speeches and notes that people had begun to look upon him almost as a prophet of the new freedom that was to come. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, was also weaver of fine phrases, but he had a reputation for opportunism. Clemenceau, the "Tiger" as he was called, had no use for ideals and pious phrases. He was out to crush France's old enemy Germany, crush her and humble her in every way, so that she might not be able to raise her head again. — *Glimpses of World History.*

II

GAMBLING WITH FATE

It is said that any transfer of power during war-time involves risks. So it does. To abstain from action or change probably involves far greater risks. **The agressor nations have repeatedly shown that they have the courage to gamble with fate, and the gamble has often come off.** We must take risks. One thing is certain—that the present state of affairs in India is deplorable. It lacks not only popular support but also efficiency. The people who control affairs in India from Whitehall or Delhi are incapable even of understanding what is happening, much less of dealing with it.

We are told that the independence of Syria is recognized, that Korea is going to be a free country. But India, the classic land of modern imperialist control, must continue under British tutelage. Meanwhile daily broadcasts from Tokyo, Bangkok, Rome, and Berlin in Hindustani announce that the Axis countries want India to be independent. Intelligent people know how false this is and are not taken in. But many who listen to this contrast it with what the British Government says and does in India. We have seen the effect of this propaganda in Malaya and Burma. India is far more advanced politically and can therefore resist it more successfully. She is especially attracted to China and has admired the magnificent resistance of the Russian people. She feels friendly towards the democratic ideals of America But with all that she feels helpless and frustrated and bitter against those who have put her in her present position.

Some of the problems are of our own making, some of British creation. But whoever may be responsible for them, we have to solve them. One of these problems, so often talked about, is the Hindu-Moslem problem. It is often forgotten that Moslems, like Hindus, also demand independence for India. Some of them (but only some) talk in terms of a separate state in the North-west of India. They have never defined what they mean and few people take their demand seriously, especially in these days when small states have ceased to count and must inevitably be parts of a larger federation. The Hindu-Moslem problem will be solved in terms of federation, but it will be solved only when British interference with our affairs ceases. So long as there is a third

party to intervene and encourage intransigent elements of either group, there will be no solution. A free India will face the problem in an entirely different setting and will, I have no doubt, solve it.

What do we want? A free, democratic, federal India, willing to be associated with other countries in large federations. In particular, India would like to have close contacts with China and Soviet Russia, both her neighbours, and America. Every conceivable protection, guarantee, and help should be given to our minority groups and those that are culturally or economically backward.

What should be done now? It is not an easy question, for what may be possible to-day becomes difficult to-morrow. What we might have done two years ago we have no time to do now. But this war is not going to end soon, and what happens in India is bound to make a great difference. The grand strategy of war requires an understanding of the urges that move people to action and sacrifice for a cause. It requires sacrifice not only of lives of brave men but of racial prejudices, of inherited conceptions of political or economic domination and exploitation of others, of vested interests of small groups that hinder the growth and development of others. It requires conception and translation into action, in so far as possible, of the new order based on the political and economic freedom of all countries, of world co-operation of free peoples, of revolutionary leadership along these lines, and of capacity to dare and face risks. What vested interests are we going to protect for years to come when the interests of humanity itself are at stake to-day? Where are the vested interests of Hong Kong and Singapore?

It is essential that whatever is to be done is done now. For it is the present that counts. What will happen after the war nobody knows, and to postpone anything till then is to admit bankruptcy and invite disaster. —*Day of Reckoning.*

III

A certain seeming contradiction arises in regard to our policy towards war. On the one hand we are anti-Fascists and we think that a Fascist world victory will be not only disastrous for the world as a whole but bad for our own freedom. Therefore inevitably we do not want a Fascist.

On the other hand, supporting British Imperialism is obviously a wrong policy for a country dominated by that imperialism. The contradiction really does not lie in our approach to the question. If we think of the question in terms of a free India, obviously we are led to the conclusion that we should support the forces of democracy as opposed to Fascism. If we think in terms of a subject India, we are led to the conclusion that we cannot support dominating Imperialism. The conflict is resolved when the subjection is removed and a free India can choose her own policy in regard to war and peace as well as other matters.

PERPETUATION OF IMPERIALISM

Then again, even apart from this, to imagine that the present British Government is a champion of democracy is a difficult undertaking. If it was in favour of real democracy its first function should be to introduce democracy in its empire. The mere fact of not doing so and resisting it is sufficient evidence that it is not democracy which it seeks but the perpetuation of its Imperialism.

India as well as the rest of the world certainly stands to suffer greatly if Fascism dominates the world. India does not suffer alone, if British Imperialism does not fade away. The suggestion that England would prefer defeat rather than a fair deal to the empire and a liquidation of her Imperialism is itself significant. All the major questions in the world to-day, whether those of Europe or the Far East, political or economic, fascist or imperialist, are tied up, and it is difficult to consider one without the other. The question of Indian freedom is not only intimately related to these other questions, but in a sense is a crucial one, having a tremendous bearing on the solution of the other question. To establish Indian independence leads inevitably to the ending of British Imperialism and to England becoming a really democratic front against Fascism. That is real answer to Herr Hitler's demand for colonies. The struggle with Fascism then is a straight one.

Therefore, for British statesmen to try to keep the question of Indian independence apart from the other issues, is to seek to evade the crux of the question and by seeking a seeming temporary advantage to injure the cause of democracy and of England. —*May 3, 1939.*

IV

The Congress Working Committee's statement of September 14, clarified the whole position, crystallizing nationalist opinion and giving clear expression to it. That statement immediately evoked a remarkable response in India. What innumerable people had been feeling vaguely in their minds and hearts was clarified and put down in stately language. Doubts were resolved, many a perpexity vanished, for it seemed that the people of India had found voice and pointed to the world the inevitable path which had to be followed if our present-day problems were to be solved. And the world listened.

The progressive in England hailed it; in democratic America it received considerable publicity; even in war-ridden Europe it evoked a response. People of suppressed and subject nations saw in it a charter for the oppressed. It was in tune with the spirit of the times.

All that has happened since then has been a logical development of that invitation of the Congress Working Committee for a clarification of war aims. Lord Zetland's speech after the A. I. C. C. meeting, the Viceroy's statement, the Muslim League's

resolutions in the Provincial Assemblies, and the inevitable resignations of the Congress Ministries have all followed each other in ordered sequence, throwing a flood of light on the Indian scene.

FLOOD OF LIGHT

What does this light show? First of all, the high statesmanship and wisdom of the Congress, which stands justified to-day before India and the world. Holding to its ideals and its previous declarations, it has applied them to changing and difficult circumstances, and thus demonstrated that it has the capacity to be idealistic and practical at the same time. **The freedom of India, for which it stands, has been woven into the larger picture of world freedom and war and peace aims and a practical solution offered for the world's ills.**

Secondly, the true nature of this war has become evident. The reply of the British Government to the Congress shows beyond a doubt that they are moved now, as before, by a desire to preserve their imperialist interests. This is no democratic war in which the forces of democracy are ranged on one side against the forces of Nazism and reaction on the other. True there are some democratic forces, on the side of the Allies, but the governments that control the destinies of England and France, are the old discredited governments which must bear responsibility for the present unhappy state of Europe.

We cannot forget Munich and Spain. To-day the French Government is a citadel of reaction, and need we say more about the British Government than that Mr. Neville Chamberlain is still (1939) the Prime Minister? We knew all this and yet it was necessary that all doubt should be removed from the minds of the people and that reality should emerge out of the fog of war.

That reality has come and it is not beautiful to look at and not all the fine phrasing of Sir Samuel Hoare can rejuvenate the aged and the decrepit. Imperialism is a tottering structure to-day, wholly out of place in modern conditions, but the British ruling class will think in its terms and seek to preserve it. They are even afraid to make a clear declaration about India's freedom. This Imperialism is not in love with the minorities or even the Princes (though it utilizes both to serve its main purpose), it is mainly concerned with British financial and other vested interests in India. **It is an axiom of Indian politics that there can be no compromise between Imperialism, and Indian nationalism and freedom. Whatever the phase of our struggle that hostility has persisted. The Congress offer was that Imperialism should be ended, the Independence of India recognised, and this age-long hostility should give place to friendship and co-operation.** That offer has been rejected and we go our separate ways till fate or circumstances unite us again.

Thirdly, the position of the Muslim League has been cleared up beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. We had welcomed the League's acceptance of Independence as its objective three years ago and the widening of the basis of its membership. But we were soon to realize that the old politically reactionary outlook held the field still. Under cover of communal propaganda, the Muslim masses were prevented from realizing this. We are not for the moment discussing the communal demands of the League. They may be right or wrong. It is conceivable for a person to be a communalist and yet an ardent believer in political freedom, though at some stage or other, a conflict will arise between these two loyalties. The Congress has often erred in the petty issues of politics, but it has always shown an unerring instinct whenever a major issue arose. The League, on the other hand, has a remarkable record of being wrong on the major issues, though it may occasionally be right on some trivial matters.

It is a tragedy that at this supreme crisis in our national history the League should have sided with full-blooded reaction. We do not believe that many of its own members agree with this attitude. We are certain that the Muslim masses are firm adherents of Indian freedom. In some communal matters the League may represent them, but it certainly does not do so in matters political.

INDIA'S DEFENCE

A war policy for a nation must inevitably first take into consideration the defence of the country. India must feel that she is taking part in her own defence and in preserving her own freedom as well as helping in the struggle for freedom elsewhere. The army will have to be considered a National Army, and not a mercenary force owing allegiance to someone else. It is on this national basis that recruitment should take place so that our soldiers should not merely be cannon-fodder but fighters for their country and for freedom.

In addition to this it will be necessary to have a large-scale organisation for civil Defence on a militia basis. All this can be done by a popular government.

Even more important is the development of Industries to supply war and other needs. Industries must develop on a vast scale in India during the war-time. They must not be allowed to grow in a haphazard way, but should be planned and controlled in the national interest and with due safeguards for workers. The National Planning Committee can be of great assistance in this work.

As the war progresses and consumes more and more commodities, planned production and distribution will be organised. over the world, and gradually a world-planned economy will appear. The capitalist system will recede into the back-ground, and it may be that international control of Industry will take its place. India, as an important producer, must have a say in any such control.

Finally, India must speak as a free nation at the Peace Conference. We have endeavoured to indicate what the War and Peace aims of those who speak for democracy should be, and in particular how they should be applied to India. The list is not exhaustive, but it is solid foundation to build upon, and an incentive for the great effort needed. We have not touched upon the problem of a reorganisation of the world after the war, though we think some such reorganisation essential and inevitable.

Will the statesmen, and peoples of the world, and especially of the warring countries, be wise and far-seeing enough to follow the path we have pointed out? We do not know. But here in India, let us forget our differences, our Leftism and Rightism, and think of these vital problems that face us, and insistently demand solution. The world is pregnant with possibilities. It has no pity at any time for the weak or the ineffective or the disunited. To-day when nations fight desperately for survival only those who are far-seeing and disciplined and united in action will play a role in the history that is being made.

—*October 1939*

V

(This is an extract from Jawaharlal Nehru's statement at his trial held in Gorakhpur Prison on November 3, 1940.

LIQUIDATING IMPERIALISM

It is not my intention to give details of the many errors and mistakes in there reports. That would mean rewriting them completely. That would waste your time, sir, and mine and would serve little purpose. I am not here to defend myself, and perhaps, what I say in this statement will make your task easier. I do not yet know the exact nature of the charge against me. I gather that it has something to do with the Defence of India Rules and that it relates to my reference to War and to the attempts being made to compel the people of India not to take part in the war effort. If that is so, I shall gladly admit the charge. It is not necessary to go to garbled reports to find out what I or other Congress men say in regard to India and the war. The Congress resolutions and statements, carefully and precisely worded, are there for all the world to know. By those resolutions and statements I stand, and I consider it my duty to take the message of the Congress to the people of India.

If I was chosen, or if before me Shri Vinoba Bhave was chosen for this purpose, it was not to give expression to our individual views. We were symbols who spoke the mind of India in the name of India, or, at any rate of a vast number of people of India. As individuals we may have counted for little, but as such symbols and representatives of the Indian people we counted for a

great deal. In the name of those people we asserted their right to freedom and to decide for themselves what they should do and what they would not do ; we challenged the right of any other authority, by whomsoever constituted, to deprive them of this right and to force its will upon them. No individual or group of individuals, not deriving authority from the Indian people and not responsible to them in any way, should impose their will upon them and thrust the hundreds of millions of India, without any reference to them or their representatives, into a mighty war which was none of their seeking. It was amazing and full of significance that this should be done in the name of freedom and self-determination and democracy, for which it was alleged the war was being waged.

WE WILL NO LONGER BE SLAVES

We were slow in coming to our final conclusions ; we hesitated and parlayed, we wrought a way out honourable to all the parties concerned. We failed, and the inevitable conclusion was forced upon us that, so far as the British Government or their representatives were concerned, we were still looked upon as chattel to do their will and to continue to be exploited in their imperialist structure ; that was a position which we could never tolerate, whatever the consequence.

There are very few persons in India, I suppose, whether they are Indian or Englishmen, who have for years past so consistently raised their voice against Fascism and Nazism as I have done. My whole nature rebelled against them, and on many an occasion I vehemently criticized the pro-Fascist and appeasement policy of the British Government ever since the invasion of Manchuria, and subsequently in Abyssinia, Central Europe, Spain and China. I saw with pain and anguish how country after country was betrayed in the name of this appeasement and how the lamps of liberty were being put out. I realized that imperialism, or else its own ideological foundations were weakened. It had to choose between this liquidating itself in favour of democratic freedom. There was no middle way.

So long as appeasement applied to Manchuria, Abyssinia, Zecho-Slovakia, Spain, and Albania, to "far-away countries about which few people had ever heard", as the then Prime Minister of England put it, did not matter much and was faithfully pursued. But when it came near home and threatened the British Empire itself the clash came and war began.

Again there were two alternatives before the British Government and each Government engaged in the war, to continue to function in the old imperialist way or to end this in their domains and become the leaders of the urge for freedom and revolutionary change the world over. They chose the former, though they still talked in terms of freedom and it was even in words limited to Europe and evidently meant freedom to carry on with their Empire in the old way. Not even peril and disaster have weakened their intention to hold on to their Empire and enforce their will upon subject people.

In India we have had a year of War Government. The people's elected Legislatures have been suspended and ignored, and a greater and more widespread autocracy prevails here than anywhere else in the world. Recent measures have suppressed completely such limited freedom as the press possessed to give facts and opinions If this is the prelude to the freedom that is promised us, or to the "New Order" about which so much is said, then we can well imagine what the later stages will be when England emerges as a full-blooded Fascist State.

This war has lead already to widespread destruction and will lead to even greater horror and misery. With those who suffer we sympathize deeply and in all sincerity. But unless the war has a revolutionary aim of ending the present order and substituting something based on freedom and co-operation, it will lead to a continuation of war and utmost destruction.

WHY WE MUST DISSOCIATE

That is why we must dissociate ourselves from this war and advise our people to do likewise and not help in any way with money or men. That is our bounden duty. But even apart from this, the treatment accorded to the Indian people during the past year by the British authorities, the latter's attempt to encourage every disruptive and reactionary tendency, their forcible realization of money for the war from even the poor of India and their repeated effionts to Indian nationalism, are such that we can never forget or ignore. No self-respecting people can tolerate such behaviour and the people of India have no intention of tolerating it. **I stand before, you Sir, as an individual being tried for certain offences against the State. You are symbol of that State. But I am something more than an individual also ; I, too am a symbol at the present moment, a symbol of Indian nationalism, resolved to break away from the British Empire and achieve the Independence of India. It is not me that you are seeking to judge and condemn, but rather the hundred of millions of the people of India, and that is a large task even for a proud Empire.** Perhaps it may be that, though I am standing before you on my trial, it is the British Empire itself that is on its trial before the bar of the world. There are more powerful forces at work in the world to-day than courts of law, there are elemental urges for freedom and food and security which are moving vast masses of the people, and history is being moulded by them. The future recorder of this history might well say that in hours of supreme trial the Government of Britain and the people of Britain failed because they could not adapt themselves to a changing world. He may muse over the fate of empire which has always fallen because of this weakness and call it destiny. Certain causes inevitably produce certain results. We know the causes, the results are inexorably in their train.

VI

FOREIGN INVASION

I consider it my duty to oppose any foreign invasion of India. The Japanese assertion that they were coming to India to set us free

was absurd and wholly false. That was clear from Japan's misdeeds in China and Korea.

The Congress had made clear its sympathies with the democracies and its opposition to the aggressor countries, Japan no less than Germany.

April 7, 1942.

We parted company with Bose many years ago. We have drifted further apart and to-day we are very apart. It is not good enough for me not to realize that the way he has chosen is utterly wrong, a way which I not only cannot accept but must oppose if it takes shape. Because any force that may come from outside, it really comes as a dummy force under Japanese control.

Fighting will be done by the armed forces. We will have to take guerilla warfare.

April 12, 1942.

I reaffirm my opposition to Fascism and Nazism and hold that there is no question of India aligning herself with Japan or any other Axis power, even if she was in a position to do so. I have expressed myself fairly strongly against the Axis Powers. As a matter of fact Mahatma Gandhi has also expressed himself strongly against Fascism and Nazism.

June 17, 1942.

We do not want to be slaves of Japan or Germany. We would fight against any nation which wants to enslave us. The German and Japanese radios announce daily that they are fighting to liberate nations and also want to give independence to India. I do not believe in it. We should never be misled by these announcements. We are ready to defend our country. If we are organised we would not be afraid of Japan or Germany but would fight them to the last drop of our blood for the honour and prestige of our country.

June 30, 1942.

SECTION XXIII

On the Language Front

Common language is more important than guns and bullets in the battle for freedom. Various suggestions have been offered, but none of them is so perfect as Jawaharlal's : "The question of language". The ideas embodied in the essay have the approval of Mahatma Gandhi. Jawaharlal advises that both Urdu and Hindi should be used in both the Persian and the Devanagri script. The views of Nehru on language have been accepted by most of the controversialists.

THE QUESTION OF LANGUAGE

We have had during recent months a revival of the old controversy between Hindi and Urdu and high excitement has accompanied it and charges and countercharges have been flung about. A subject eminently suited for calm and scholarly consideration and academic debate has been dragged down to the level of the market place and communal passions have centred round it. Inevitably, many of the champions who have entered the field of battle have little to do with scholarship or the love of a language for its own sake ; they have been chiefly concerned with Government orders and court procedure. Those who love language as the embodiment of culture, of airy thought caught in the network of words and phrases, of ideas crystallized, of fine shades of meaning, of the music and rhythm that accompany it, of the fascinating history and associations of its words, of the picture of life in all its phases, those to whom a language is dear because of all this and more, wondered at this vulgar argument and kept away from it.

Any yet we cannot keep away from it or ignore it, for the question of language is an important one for us. It is not important because of that cry of the ignorant that India is a babel of tongues with hundreds and hundreds of languages. India, as everyone who looks round him can see, has singularly few languages considering its vast size, and these are intimately allied to each other. India has also one dominant and widespread language which, with its variations, covers a vast area and numbers its votaries by the hundred million. Yet the problem remains and has to be faced.

It has to be faced for the moment because of its communal and political implications. But that is a temporary matter and will pass. The real problem will remain : as to what policy we shall

adopt in a scheme of general mass education and the cultural development of the people; how shall we promote the unity of India and yet preserve the rich diversity of our inheritance?

The question of language is ever one of the great consequence for a people. Almost exactly three hundred years ago Milton, writing from Florence to a friend, emphasized this and said: "Nor is it to be considered of small consequence what language, pure or corrupt, a people has, or what is their customary degree or propriety in speaking it...........for let the words of a country be in part unhandsome and offensive in themselves, in part debased by wear and wrongly uttered, and what do they declare, but, by no light indication, that the inhabitants of that country are an indolent, idly-yawning race, with minds already long prepared for any amount of servility? On the other hand, we have never heard that any empire, any state, did not at least flourish in a middling degree as long as its own liking and care for its language lasted."

II

A living language is a throbbing, vital thing, ever changing, ever growing and mirroring the people who speak and write it It has its roots in the masses, though its superstructure may represent the culture of a few. How then can we change it or shape it to our liking by resolutions or orders from above? And yet I find this widely prevalent notion that we can force a language to behave in a particular manner if we only will it so. It is true that under modern conditions with mass education and mass propaganda through the press, printed books, cinema and the radio, a language can be varied much more rapidly than in past times. And yet that variation is but the mirror of the rapid changes taking place among the people who use it. If a language loses its vitality and becomes an artificial, lifeless thing, instead of the thing of life and strength and joy that it should be. Attempts to force the growth of a language in a particular direction are likely to end in distorting it and crushing its spirit.

III

What should be the policy of the State in regard to language? The Congress has briefly but clearly and definitely stated this in the resolution on Fundamental Rights: The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected." By this declaration the Congress is bound and no minority or linguistic group can require a wider assurance. Further the Congress has stated in its constitution, as well as in many resolutions, that while the common language of the country should be Hindustani, the provincial languages should be dominant in their respective areas. A language cannot be imposed by resolution, and Congress desire to develop a common language and carry on most of our work in the provincial languages would be pious wishes, ignored by the multitude, if they did not fit in with existing conditions and the needs of the situation. We have thus to see how far they so fit in.

Our great provincial languages are no dialects or vernaculars as the ignorant sometimes call them. They are ancient languages with a rich inheritance, each spoken by many millions of persons, each tied up inextricably with the life and culture and ideas of the masses as well as of the upper classes. It is axiomatic that the masses can only grow educationally and culturally through the medium of their own language. Therefore, it is inevitable that we lay stress on the provincial languages and carry on most of our work through them. The use of any other language will result in isolating the educated few from the masses and of retarding the growth of the people. Ever since the Congress took to the use of these provincial languages in carrying on its work, we developed contacts with the masses rapidly and the strength and prestige of the Congress increased all over the country. The Congress message reached the most distant hamlet and the political consciousness of the masses grew. Our system of education and public work must therefore be based on the provincial languages.

What are these languages? Hindustani, of course, with its principal arpects of Hindi and Urdu, and its various dialects. Then there are Bengali, Marathi and Gujrati, sister languages of Hindi and nearly allied to it. In the south there are Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. Besides these there are Oriya, Assamase and Sindhi, and Panjabi and Pushtu in the North-West. These dozen languages cover the whole of India, and of these, Hindustani has the widest range and also claims a certain all-India character.

V

Without infringing in the least on the domain of the provincial languages, we must have a common all-India medium of communication. Some people imagine that English might serve as such, and to some extent English has served as such for our upper classes and for all-India Political purposes. But this is manifestly impossible if we think in terms of the masses We cannot educate millions of people in a totally foreign tongue. English will inevitably remain an important language for us because of our past associations and because of its present importance in the world. It will be the principal medium for us to communicate with the outside world, though I hope it will not be the only medium for this purpose. I think we should cultivate other foreign languages also, such as French, German, Russia, Spanish, Italian, Chinese and Japanese. But English cannot develop into an all-India language, known by **millions.**

The only possible all-India language is Hindustani. Already it is spoken by a hundred and twenty millions and partly understood by scores of millions of others. Even those who do not know it at all at present can learn it far more easily than a foreign language. There are many common words in all the languages of India, but what is far more important is the common cultural background of these languages, the

similarity of ideas and the many linguistic affinities. This makes it relatively easy for an Indian to learn another Indian language.

VI

What is Hindustani? Vaguely we say that this word includes both Hindi and Urdu, as spoken and as written in the two scripts, and we endeavour to strike a golden mean between the two, and call this idea of ours Hindustani. Is this just an idea with no reality for its basis, or is it something more?

There are many variations in Hindustani as spoken and written in various parts of northern and central India. Numerous dialects have arisen. But these are the inevitable consequences of want of education these on dialects will tend to disappear and a certain standardisation will set in.

There is the question of script. Devanagari and the Urdu script are utterly different from each other and there is no possibility of either of them assimilating the other. Therefore wisely we have agreed that both should have full play. This will be an additional burden on those who have to learn both and it will encourage separatism to some extent. But we have to put up with these disadvantages for any other course is not open to us. Both the scripts are part of the genius of our languages and around them have gathered not only literatures peculiar to the scripts, but also a wall of sentiment which is solid and irremovable. What the distant future will bring to us I do not know, but for the present both must remain.

The Latin script has been advocated as a solution of some of our linguistic difficulties. It is certainly more efficient than either Hindi or Urdu from the point of view of rapid work. In these days of the type-writer and duplicator and other mechanical devices, the Latin script has great advantages over the Indian scripts which cannot utilise fully these new devices. But in spite of these advantages I do not think there is the slightest chance of the Latin script replacing Devanagari or Urdu. There is the wall of sentiment of course, strengthened even more by the fact that the Latin script is associated with our alien rulers. But there are more solid grounds also for its rejection. The scripts are essential parts of our literatures; without them we would be largely cut off from our old inheritance.

It may be possible, however, to reform our scripts to some extent. We have at present, besides Hindi and Urdu, the Bengali, Marathi and Gujrati scripts, each of these three being very nearly allied to Devanagari. It should be easily possible to have a common script for these four languages. This need not necessarily be Devanagari, exactly as it is written to-day, but a slight variation of it. The development of a common script for Hindi, Bengali, Gujrati and Marathi would be a definite gain and would bring the four languages much nearer to each other.

I do not know how far it is possible for the Dravidian languages of the South to fit in with a northern script, or to evolve a common script for themselves. Those who have studied this might enlighten us on this point.

The Urdu script has to remain as it is, though some slight simplification of it might be attempted. It might easily absorb the Sindhi script which is very similar to it.

Thus we ought to have later on two scripts: the composite Devanagari-Bengali-Marathi-Gujrati, and the Urdu, and also, if necessary, a southern script. No attempt must be made to suppress any one of these, unless there is a possibility by general agreement of those concerned to fit in the southern languages with a northern script, which is likely to be Hindi, or a slight variation of it.

VII

Let us consider Hindustani both as the mother tongue of the north and central India, and as an all-India language. The two aspects are different and must be dealt with separately.

Hindi and Urdu are the two main aspects of this language. Obviously they have the same basis, the same grammar, the same fund of ordinary words to draw upon. They are in fact the same basic language. And yet the present differences are considerable, and one is said to draw its inspiration from Sanskrit and the other to some extent from Persian. To consider Hindi as the language of the Hindus and Urdu as that of the Muslims is absurd. Urdu, except for its script, is of the very soil of India and has no place outside India. It is even to-day the home language of large numbers of Hindus in the North

The coming of Muslim rulers to India brought Persian as a court language and, to the end of the Moghal period, Persian continued to be so used The language of the people in north and central India continued to be Hindi throughout. Being a living language it absorbed a number of Persian words; Gujrati and Marathi did likewise. But essentially Hindi remained Hindi. A highly Persianised form of Hindi developed round the Imperial courts but this was called Rekhta. The word Urdu seems to have come into use during the Moghal period in the camps of the Moghals, but it appears to have been used almost synonymously with Hindi, it did not signify even a variation of Hindi. Right upto the Revolt of 1857, Urdu meant Hindi, except in regard to script. As is well known some of the finest Hindi poets have been Muslims. Till this Revolt, and even for some time after, the usual term applied to the language was Hindi. This did not refer to the script but to the language—the language of Hind. Muslims who wrote in the Urdu script usually called the language Hindi.

It was in the second half of the nineteenth century that the words Hindi and Urdu began to signify something different from each other. This separatism grew. Probably it was a reflex of the rising national consciousness which first affected the Hindus, who began to lay stress on purer Hindi and the Devanagari script. Nationalism was for them inevitably at the beginning a form of Hindu nationalism. A little later, the Muslims slowly developed their form of nationalism, which was Muslim nationalism, and this began to consider Urdu as their own particular preserve. Controversy centred round the scripts and the use of them in courts and public offices. Thus the growing separatism in language and the conflict of scripts was the outcome of the growth of political and national consciousness, which to begin with took a communal turn. As this nationalism became truly national, thinking in terms of India and not in those of a particular community, the desire to stop this separatist tendency in language grew with it, and intelligent people began to lay stress on the innumerable common features of Hindi and Urdu. There was talk of Hindustani not only as the language of the whole country. But still, unfortunately, communalism is strong enough in India and so the separatist tendency persists along with the unifying tendency. This separatism in language is bound to disappear with the fuller development of nationalism It is well to bear this in mind for only then shall we understand what the root cause of the evil is. Scratch a separatist in language and you will invariably find that he is a communalist, and very often a political reactionary.

VIII

Although the terms Hindi and Urdu were interchangeably used for a long time during the Moghal period, Urdu was applied more to the language of the mixed camps of the Moghals Round about the court and camp many Persian words were current and these crept into the language. As one moves southwards, away from the centres of Moghal court life, Urdu merges into purer Hindi. Inevitably this influence of the courts affected the towns far more than the rural areas, and the towns of the north far more than the towns of central India.

And this leads us to the real difference between Urdu and Hindi to-day—Urdu is the language of the towns and Hindi the language of the villages. Hindi is of course spoken also in the towns, but Urdu is almost entirely an urban language. The problem of bringing Urdu and Hindi nearer to each other thus becomes the much vaster problem of bringing the town and the village nearer to each other. Every other way will be a superficial way without lasting effect. Languages change organically when the people who speak them change.

IX

While Hindi and Urdu of ordinary household speech do not differ much from each other, the gulf between the literary

languages has grown in recent years. In written literary productions it is formidable, and this has led some people to believe that some evil-minded persons are the cause of it. That is a foolish fancy though undoubtedly there are individuals who take delight in increasing separatist tendencies. But living languages do not function in this way, nor can they be twisted much by a few individuals. We have to look deeper for the causes of this apparent divergence.

This divergence, though unfortunate in itself, is really a sign of healthy growth. Both Hindi and Urdu, after a long period of stagnation, have woken up and are pushing ahead. They are struggling to give expression to new ideas, and leaving the old ruts for new forms of literary expression. The vocabulary of each is poor as far as these new ideas are concerned, but each can draw on a rich source This source is Sanskrit in the one case and Persian in the other, and hence as soon as we leave the ordinary language or the home or the market-place and enter more abstract regions, the divergencies grow. Literary societies, jealous of the purity of the language they use, carry this tendency to extreme limits, and then accuse each other of encouraging separatist tendencies. The beam in one's own eye is not seen, the mote in the other's eye is obvious enough.

The immediate result of all this has been to increase the gulf between Hindi and Urdu and sometimes it almost appears that the two are destined to develop into separate languages. And yet this fear is unjustified and there is no reason for alarm. We must welcome the new life that is coursing through both Hindi and Urdu even though it might lead to a temporary widening of the gulf. Hindi and Urdu are both at present inadequate for the proper expression of modern ideas, scientific, political, economic, commercial and sometimes cultural, and they are both trying hard, and with success, to enrich themselves so as to meet the needs of a modern community. Why should either be jealous of the other? We want our language to be as rich as possible and this will not happen if we try to suppress either Hindi words or Urdu words because we feel that they do not fit in with our own particular backgrounds. We want both and we must accept both. We must realise that the growth of Hindi means the growth of Urdu and vice versa. The two will powerfully influence each other and the vocabulary and ideas of each will grow. But each must keep its doors and windows wide open for these words and ideas. Indeed I would like Hindi and Urdu to welcome and absorb words and ideas from foreign languages and make them their own. It is absurd to coin new words from the Sanskrit or Persian for well known and commonly used words in English or French or other foreign languages.

I have no doubt in my mind that Hindi and Urdu must come nearer to each other, and though they may wear different garbs, will be essentially one language. The forces favouring

this unification are too strong to be resisted by individuals. We have nationalism and the widespread desire to have a united India, and this must triumph. But stronger than this is the effect of rapid communications and transport and interchange of ideas and revolutionary changes going on in our political and social spheres. We cannot remain in our narrow grooves when the torrent of world change rushes past us. Education when it spreads to the masses will also inevitably produce standardisation and unification.

X

We must not, therefore, look even upon the separate development of Hindi and Urdu with suspicion. The enthusiast for Urdu should welcome the new spirit that is animating Hindi and the lover of Hindi should equally appreciate the labours of those who seek to advance Urdu. They may work to-day along parallel lines somewhat separate from each other, but the two will coalesce. Nevertheless, though we tolerate willingly this existing separatism, we must help in the process of this unification. On what must this unity be based? Surely on the masses. The masses must be the common factor between Hindi and Urdu. Most of our present troubles are due to highly artificial literary languages cut off from the masses. When writers write, who do they write for? Every writer must have, consciously or sub-consciously, an audience in his mind, whom he is seeking to influence or convert to his viewpoint. Because of our vast illiteracy, that audience has unhappily been limited, but even so it is big enough and it will grow rapidly. I am not expert in this matter but my own impression is that the average writer in Hindi or Urdu does not seek to take advantage of even the existing audience. He thinks much more of the literary coteries in which he moves and writes for them in the language that they have come to appreciate. His voice and his word do not reach the much larger public, and if they happen to reach this public, they are not understood. Is it surprising that Hindi and Urdu books have restricted sales? Even our newspapers in Hindi and Urdu barely tap the great reading public because they too generally use the language of the literary coteries.

Our writers therefore must think in terms of a mass audience and clientele and must deliberately seek to write for them. This will result automatically in the simplification of language and the stilled and flowery phrases and constructions, which are always signs of decadence in a language, will give place to words of strength and power. We have not yet fully recovered from the notion that culture and literary attainments are the products and accompaniments of courtly circles. If we think in this way we remain confined in narrow circles and can find no entrance to the hearts and minds of the masses. Culture to-day must have wider mass basis, and language, which is one of the embodiments of that culture, must also have that basis.

This approach to the masses is not merely a question of simple words and phrases. It is equally a matter of ideas and the inner content of those words and phrases. Language which is to make appeal to the masses must deal with the problems of those masses, with their joys and sorrows, their hopes and aspirations. It must represent and mirror the life of the people as a whole and not that of a small group at the top. Then only will it have its roots in the soil and find sustenance from it.

This applies not only to Hindi and Urdu but to all our Indian languages. I know that in all of them these ideas are finding utterance and they are looking more and more towards the masses. This process must be accelerated and our writers should deliberately aim at encouraging it.

It is also desirable, I think, for our languages to cultivate contacts with foreign literatures by means of translations of both the old classics and modern books. This will put us in touch with cultural and literary and social movements in other countries and will strengthen our own languages by the infusion of fresh ideas

I imagine that probably Bengali, of all Indian languages, has gone further in developing contacts with the masses Literary Bengali is not something apart from and far removed from the life of the people of Bengal. The genius of one man Rabindra Nath Tagore has bridged that gap between the cultured few and the masses, and to-day his beautiful songs and poems are heard even in the humblest hut. They have not only added to the wealth of Bengali literature but enriched the life of the people of Bengal, and made of their language a powerful medium of the finest literary expression in the simplest terms. We cannot produce geniuses for the asking but we can all learn from this and shape our own course accordingly. In this connection I should also like to mention Gujrati. I am told that Gandhiji's simple and powerful language has had a great influence on modern Gujrati writing.

XI.

Let us now consider the other aspect of Hindustani as at All-India language, bearing in mind that it is no rival to the great provincial languages and there is no question of its encroaching on them. For the moment let us set aside the question of script, for both scripts must have full play We cannot of course insist on every one learning both scripts; that would be an intolerable burden for the masses. The State should encourage both scripts and leave the persons concerned, or their parents, to choose between the two. Let us therefore consider the content of the language apart from its script.

Apart from its widespread range and dominance over India, Hindustani has certain other advantages as an all-India language. It is relatively easy to learn and its grammer is simple, except for the confusion of its genders. Can we simplify it still further ?

We have a remarkable successful experiment to guide us, that of Basic English. A number of scholars, after many years' labour, have evolved a simplified form of English which is essentially English and indistinguishable from it, and yet which is astonishingly easy to learn. Grammar has almost disappeared except for a few simple rules and the basic vocabulary has been reduced to about 980 words, excluding scientific, technical and commercial terms. This whole vocabulary and grammar can be put down on one sheet of paper and an intelligent person can learn it in two or three weeks. He will require practice of course in the use of the new lauguage.

This experiment must not be confused with the many previous attempts to evolve a common world language—Volapuk, Esperanto, etc. All such languages, though simple, were highly artificial and to learn them was an additional burden. The breath of life did not vitalize them and they could never become the language of large number of people. Basic English having all their advantages. does not suffer from this disadvantage, as it is living language. Those who learn basic English cannot only have a simple and efficient means of communication with others, but they are already on the threshold of Standard English and can proceed further if they so wish.

My enthusiasm for Basic English might lead to the query: Why not have this as an all India language? No, this cannot be, for the whole genius of this language is alien to our people and we would have to transplant them completely before we can impose this an all-India language. The practical difficulties would also be far greater than in the case of Hindustani which is already so widely known all over India.

But I think that where we teach English as a foreign tongue, and we shall have to do this on an extensive scale, Basic English should be taught. Only those who wish to make a special study of the language, should proceed to Standard English.

XII

Can we evolve a Basic Hindustani after the fashion of Basic English I think this is easily possible if our scholars will turn their minds to this end. The grammar should be as simple as possible, almost non-existent, and yet it must not do violence to the existing grammar of the language. The essential thing to be borne in mind is that while this basic language is complete in itself for the expression of all non-technical ideas, it is yet a stepping stone to the further study of the language. The vocabulary might consist of a thousand words or so, not chosen at random because they are common words in the Indian languages but because they form a complete whole and require no extraneous assistance for all ordinary speaking and writing.

Such a basic Hindustani should be the all-India language and with a little effort from the State it will spread with extreme

rapidity all over the country and will help in bringing about their national unity which we all desire. It will bring Hindi and Urdu close together and will also help in developing an all-India linguistic unity. On that solid and common foundation even if variations grow or diversions occur, they will not lead to separatism. Those who wish to add to their knowledge of Hindustani can easily do so, those who are content with knowing basic Hindustani only can yet take part in the larger life of the nation.

I have said previously that we should not object to the development of Hindi or Urdu separately. The new words that come in from either direction will enrich our inheritance, if they are vital, living words forced on us by circumstances or coming up from the masses. But the formation of artificial words with no real sanction behind them has no such significance. To a large extent we have to form artificial words to meet the growing needs of our political, economic, scientific and commercial life. In the formation of such words we shoutd try to avoid duplication and separatism. We should be bold enough, I think, to lift bodily foreign technical words which have become current coin in many parts of the world, and to adopt them as Hindustani words. Indeed I should like them to be adopted by all the Indian languages. This will make it easier for our people to read technical and scientific works in various languages, Indian and foreign. Any other course will lead to chaos and confusion in the mind of the student who has to grapple with large numbers of technical terms, and who often has to read important books in other languages. An attempt to have a separate and distinct scientific vocabulary is to isolate and stultify our scientific growth and to put an intolerable burden n the teacher and taught alike. The public life and affairs of the world are already closely knit together and form a single whole. We should make it as easy as possible for our people to understand them and take part in them, and for foreigners to understand our public affairs.

Many foreign words can and should thus be taken in but many technical words will have to be taken from our own language also. It is desirable that linguistic and technical experts should make a list of such wods for common use. This will not only bring about uniformity and precision, in matters where variety and vagueness are highly undesirable, but will also prevent the use of absurd phrases and expressions. Our journalist triends have a knack of translating literally foreign words and phrases without caring much for the meaning behind them, and then these loose words become current coin and produce confusion of thought. Trade union has been translated sometimes as Veapar sangh, a perfectly literal translation and yet as far removed from the truth as anything could be. But the choicest of the translations has been that of "imperial preference". This was called by an enterprising journalist *Shahi Pasand.*

XIII.

What should then be the policy of the State in regard to language? The State has to decide this question in regard to its courts and offices, and education.

The official language of each province for affairs of State should be the language of the province. But everywhere Hindustani, as the all-India language, should be officially recognised and documents in it accepted in both the Devanagri and Urdu scripts. In the Hindustani speaking provinces the two scripts must be officially recognised and it should be open to any person to address a court or an office in either script.* The burden of supplying a copy in the other script should not be put upon him. The office or the court may occasionally use either script, but it should be absurd to enforce the rule that everything should be done in both scripts. The script that is mostly used in the area which the court or office serves will become the dominant script of that court or office. But official notifications should be issued in both scripts.

State education must be governed by the rule that it should be given in the language of the student. Thus in each linguistic area the language of that area should be the medium of instruction. But I would go a step further wherever there are a sufficient number of people belonging to a linguistic group, even though they might be living in a different linguistic area, they can demand from the State that special provision be made for teaching them in their own language. This would depend of course on such students being easily accessible from a convenient centre and it would apply to primary education and, perhaps, if the number was large enough, to secondary education. Thus in Calcutta the medium of instruction would be Bengali. But there are large numbers of people there whose mother tongues are Hindustani, Tamil, Telugu, Gujrati, etc. Each of these groups can claim from the State that their primary schools should be run in their languages. How far it will be possible to extend this to secondary education, I do not quite know. That would depend on the number of pupils concerned and other factors. These pupils would of course have to learn Bengali, the language of the linguistic area they live in, but this is likely to be done in the early secondary stage and after.

In the Hindustani-speaking provinces both Devanagari and Urdu scripts will be taught in the schools, the pupils or their parents choosing between them. In the primary stage only one script should be used but the learning of the other script should be encouraged in the secondary stage.

In the non-Hindustani speaking provinces Basic Hindustani should be taught in the secondary stage, the script being left to the choice of the person concerned.

University education should be in the language of the linguistic area, Hindustani (either script) and a foreign language being compulsory subjects. This compulsion need not apply to technical

schools and higher technical courses. Provision for teaching foreign anguages should be made in our secondary schools but the subjects should be compulsory, except for certain courses, or for preparation for the university stage.

Among the provincial languages I have mentioned Pushtu and Punjabi. I think primary education should be given in these but how far higher education can also be given through them is a doubtful matter requiring consideration, as they are not sufficiently advanced. Probably Hindustani will be the best medium for higher education in these areas.

XIV

I have, with great presumption, made various suggestions ranging from primary to university education. It will be easy to criticise what I have written and to point out the difficulties in the way, for I am not expert in education or in languages. But my very inexpertness is perhaps in my favour and I can consider the problem from a layman's point of view and a detached outlook. Also I should like to make it clear that I am not discussing in this essay the important and difficult problem of education as a whole. I am only dealing with the language side of it. When we consider the whole subject of education we have to think in terms of the State and the society we are aiming at; we have to train our people to that end; we have to decide what our citizens should be like and what their occupations should be; we have to fit in this education to their life and occupations; we have to produce harmony and equilibrium in their private and social and public life. We shall have to lay far greater stress on technical and scientific training if we are to take our place in the modern world. All this and more we shall have to do, and in doing so we shall have to upset the present incompetent and inefficient and top heavy system of education, and to build anew on securer foundations.

But for the moment let us confine ourselves to the question of language and arrive at some general agreement in regard to it. I have written this essay with a view to invite consideration of this problem from a wider angle. If we agree to the general principles I have discussed, the application of them in practice will not be difficult. We are not in a position to apply most of these principles to-day in spite of so-called provincial autonomy. We have no financial resources and our hands are tied up in a variety of ways. But to the extent we can put our principles into practice we should do so.

It may be that there is general agreement in regard to some of the suggestions I have made and some disagreement in regard to others. Let us at least know where we agree; the points for discussion and debate will then be limited in number and we can consider them separately.

I might add that my frequent references to linguistic areas and the language of the province, necessitate that provincial units should correspond with such language areas.

XVI

To facilitate this consideration I give below some of my main suggestions ;

1.—Our public work should be carried on and State education should be given in the language of each linguistic area. This language should be the dominant language in that area. These Indian languages to be recognised officially for this purpose are: Hindustani (both Hindi and Urdu), Bengali, Gujrati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Oriya, Assamese, Sindhi and, to some extent, Pushtu and Punjabi.

2—In Hindustani-speaking area both Hindi and Urdu, with their scripts, should be officially recognised. Public notifications should be issued in both scripts. Either script might be used by a person in addressing a court or a public office, and he should not be called upon to supply a copy in the other script.

3—The medium of State instruction in the Hindustani area being Hindustani, both scripts will be recognised and used. Each pupil or his parents will make a choice of script. Pupils will not be compelled to learn both scripts but may be encouraged to do so in the secondary stage.

4—Hindustani (both scripts) will be recognised as the all-India language. As such it will be open to any person throughout India to address a court or public office in Hindustani (either script) without any obligation to give a copy in another script or language.

5—An attempt should be made to unify the Devanagari, Bengali, Gujrati and Marathi scripts and to produce a composite script suited to printing, typing and the use of modern mechanical devices.

6—The Sindhi script should be absorbed in the Urdu script, which should be simplified, to the extent that is possible, and suited to printing, typing, etc.

7—The possibility of approximating the southern scripts to Devanagari should be explored. If that is not considered feasible then an attempt should be made to have a common script for the southern languages—Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

8—It is not possible for us to think in terms of the Latin script for our languages, for the present at least, in spite of various advantages which that script possesses. We must thus have two scripts: the composite Devanagari—Bengali—Gujrati—Marathi; and the Urdu—Sindhi; and, if necessary, a script for the southern languages, unless this can be approximated to the first.

9—The tendency for Hindi and Urdu in the Hindustani speaking area to diverge and develop separately need not be viewed with alarm, nor should any obstruction be placed in the development of either. This is to some extent natural as new and more abstruse ideas come into the language. The development of either will enrich the language. There is bound to be an adjustment later on as world forces and nationalism press in this direction, and mass education will bring a measure of standardisation and uniformity.

10—We should lay stress on the language (Hindi, Urdu, as well as the other Indian languages) looking to the masses and speaking in terms of them. Writers should write for the masses in simple language understood by them, and they should deal with problems affecting the masses. Courtly and affected style and flowery phrases should be discouraged and a simple vigorous style developed. Apart from its other advantages, this will also lead to uniformity between Hindi and Urdu.

11—A Basic Hindustani should be evolved out of Hindustani on the lines of Basic English. This should be a simple language with very little grammar and a vocabulary of about a thousand words. It must be a complete language, good enough for all ordinary speech and writing, and yet within the framework of Hindustani, and a stepping-stone for the further study of that language.

12—Apart from Basic Hindustani, we should fix upon scientific, technical, political and commercial words to be used in Hindustani (both Hindi and Urdu) as well as if possible in other Indian languages. Where necessary, these words should be taken from foreign languages and bodily adopted. Lists of other words from our own languages should be made, so that in all technical and such like matters we might have a precise and uniform vocabulary.

13—The policy governing State education should be that education is to be given in the language of the student. In each linguistic area education from the primary to the university stage will be given in the language of the province. Even within a linguistic area, if there are a sufficient number of students whose mother tongue is some other Indian language, they will be entitled to receive primary education in their mother tongue, provided they are easily accessible from a convenient centre. It may also be possible, if the number is large enough, to give them secondary education also in the mother tongue. But all such students will have to take, as a compulsory subject, the language of the linguistic area they live in.

14—In the non-Hindustani speaking areas, Basic Hindustani should be taught in the secondary stage, the script being left to the choice of the person concerned.

15—The medium of instruction for university education will be the language of the linguistic area. Hindustani (either script) and a foreign language should be compulsory subjects. This compulsion of learning additional languages need not apply to higher technical courses, though a knowledge of languages is desirable even there.

16—Provision for teaching foreign languages, as well as our classical languages, should be made in our secondary schools but the subjects should not be complusory, except for certain special courses, or for preparation for the university stage.

17—Translations should be made of a considerable number of classical and modern works in foreign literatures into the Indian languages, so that our languages might develop contacts with the cultural, literary and social movements in other countries, and gain strength thereby.

SECTION XXIV

Marching Together

(One of the most fundamental questions that face India is whether Hindus and Muslims can march together on the highway to freedom. Jawaharlal believes that they positively can. He replied this question under the caption. "Can Indians Get Together ?" in a message cabled to *New York Times* in July 1942)

"Can Indians get together ?" It is an odd title yet a significant one, for it tells us much in four words. It gives us an intimate and revealing glimpse into the minds of those who framed it. It reveals to us the premises and assumptions on which they base their consideration of the Indian problem. It displays that patronising superiority of outlook which we have come to associate with westerners when they deal with Eastern Nations. It has something of the white man's burden about it.

Because of all this I was disinclined to write on this subject, for there is little room for argument or reasoning when premises differ. Our minds function in set grooves, and if even the impact of a world war with its attendant revolutionary changes does not pull them out from those deep hollows, how much can we expect from an appeal to reason ?

WEST CAN NO LONGER DOMINATE

This war is a stupendous military spectacle, and all over the world armies, navies and air forces clash with each other and seek to gain the mastery. These mighty conflicts already have changed the shape of the world and will undoubtedly still further change the shape of things to come. **And yet greater changes are happening in the minds of men, possibly none so great as those invisible things that are affecting Asia and gradually but surely putting an end to the relations between Asia and Europe that subsisted for two hundred years.** However this war may develop, whatever the end may be, no matter what the peace is going to be, it is certain that the western world can no longer dominate over Asia. If this is not realised and if the attempt is made to continue the old relationship in any form, this means the end of peace and another disastrous conflict.

Yet this is not realised by those who shape the politics of Western nation, least of all by Britain. The France of Vichy, grovelling before Germany, still talks of the French Empire; the Netherlands having lost already many of her vast possessions, still speaks the offensive language of empire and endeavours to cling to what is left. The

nineteenth century is dead and gone but the minds of Britain's rulers still think in terms of that dead past. That way lies no hope for the war or for the peace that must inevitably come sometime or other. Unless London and Washington begin to think in terms of to-day and of free and equal Asia, they will never reach a solution of the problems that confront them.

SOLUTION : INDIA TO BE FREED

That solution lies in accepting the act of full and equal freedom for all the countries of Asia, of giving up the doctrines of racial superiorty, which is no monoply of the Nazis and which we in India have known in its most intense form for many generations It lies in the recognition of independence which will not only release the suppressed and pent-up energies of a great nation but will be symbolic of a new freedom all over the world.

What a mess the nations of Europe made of this world with their perpetual conflicts, their eternal hates, their grabbing violence and cut-throat opportunism, with the misery they brought to their colonial territories, with two world wars in the course of a single generation.

Not being able to look after their own houses they presume to dominate over others and pose as their mentors. But no one values them at their achievements in science, literature and the application of science. Behind all this there is a lack of something which brings their achievements periodically to nought. Asia, has looked at this changing scene with the strength of ages behind her, and the past two hundred years, with all the suffering and mortification are but a brief interlude in her long history.

That interlude is over. A new chapter must begin. Asia is learning rapidly what the West has to teach of Science and its application and is trying to harmonise them with her old-time genius. She has little to learn, much to teach about the philosophy of life and the art of living.

UNITY

Can the Indians get together ? Yes, certainly, if impediments in their way created by foreign authority are removed, if they can face their problems without external interference. Every problem finally will be solved either by peaceful means or by conflict, though this may give rise to new problems. Independent India will solve her problems or cease to be. The past history of India shows us how she has successfully tackled her problems and out of every conflict of opposing forces has produced a new Synthesis. Synthesis is a dominant trait of India's civilization and history.

Except for China there is no great country in the world which has shown such powerful unity through the ages as India. That unity took political shape only rarely as it could not be stabilised litnu relatively recent developments in transport and communication

made this easy. If these developments had not taken place, it is possible that the United States of America might have been a single nation.

Britain's rule over India led to political unity and also was a means to bringing industrial revolution to India. Development of that revolution was however hindered by the British, who encouraged feudal elements and prevented industrial growth. The continuing forces of synthesis also were stopped by these rulers and disruptive forces were encouraged.

For the first time in India's history, there was the rule of a foreign people who had their political, financial, industrial and cultural roots elsewhere and who could only remain as foreigners exploiting the country to their advantage. There could be no synthesis with them and perpetual conflict was inevitable ; yet out of this very conflict rose the powerful All-India Nationalist movement, which became and is the symbol of political unity. Independence, democracy and unity were the pillars of this movement. In accordance with old Indian traditions, toleration, fullest protection and autonomy were promised to all minorities, subject only to the essential unity of the country and to the democratic basis of its constitution. Independence meant severance from the British Empire, but in the New World it was realised that isolated national existence was not possible or desirable. So India was prepared to join any international federation on an equal basis. But that could come only after recognition of her independence and through her free will. There could be no compulsion. In particular India wanted to associate herself closely with China.

PAKISTAN

There is now a demand on the part of some Moslems represented by Moslem League, for partition of India and it must also be remembered that this demand is a very recent one, hardly four years old It must also be remembered that there is a large section of Moslems in India who oppose it. Few people take it seriously, as it has no political background. Americans who fought the civil war to keep their union together can appreciate how a proposal to divide the country is resented by vast numbers of the Indian people.

Thirty years ago the British Government introduced the principle of separate religious electorates in India, a fatal thing which has come in the way of development of political parties. Now they have tried to introduce the idea of partitioning India, not only in two but possibly many separate parts. This was one of the reasons which led to bitter resentment of the Cripps' proposals. The All-India Congress could not agree to this, yet it went far and said if any territorial unit clearly declared its desire to break away, the Congress could not think in terms of compelling it to stay in the Union.

WHAT OF MINORITIES ?

So far as minorities are concerned, it is accepted on common ground that they should be given fullest constitutional protection

religious, cultural, linguistic and every other way Backward minorities or classes should in addition be given special educational and other privileges to bring them rapidly to the general level.

The real problem so often referred to is that of the Muslims. They are hardly a minority, as they number about 90,000,000 and it is difficult to see how even a majority can oppress them. As it happens, they are largely concentrated in particular provinces. It is proposed to give full, provincial autonomy to every province reserving only certain all-India subjects for the central government and this will give every opportunity for self-development in each cultural area. Indeed there may even be smaller autonomous cultural areas within the province.

It is possible to devise many ways to give satisfaction to every conceivable minority claim. The Congress has said this must be done by agreement, not by a majority vote. If agreement is not possible on any point, then impartial arbitration should be accepted. Finally, if any territorial unit insist on breaking away after the experience of working in the union, there is going to be no compulsion to force it to stay, provided such severance is geographically possible.

It must be remembered that the problem of Indian minorities is entirely different from nationalities with entirely different racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

This is not so in India where except for a small handful of persons, there is no difference between Hindu and Muslim in race, culture or language. The vast majority of Moslems belong to the same stock as the Hindus and were converted to Islam.

Few problems in the world to-day are basically so simple of solution as the Indian Minority Problem. For various reasons it is important to day and comes in the way of progress, yet it is essentially a superficial problem without deep roots. The real problems of India are economic—the poverty, and low standards. As soon as they are tackled aggressively, as they should be, and modern industry bringing higher standards in its train, the minority problem fades away. It has been a product of unemployment of the middle classes, who had few avenues of work open to them and looked for employment to the State. As State jobs were limited, demand rose for reservation of these for particular communities.

Every attempt to solve the problem thus far has failed because there was always a third party—the British Government. If that Government fades away, the whole background of this problem changes when Indians have to look to themselves. Compulsion or events force them to face reality and to come to agreement. The only alternative is conflict, which every one is anxious to avoid over a trivial issue. But even if there is conflict, that is preferable to the present stalemate, and it will produce a solution.

The All-India Congress stand has been that this and other problems should be considered and finally decided by a constituent assembly elected by adult franchise. The widest franchise is considered necessary, so the consideration of these questions should rest on those vast numbers of people who are far more interested in the economic problems and who do not look for state employment.

Such economic problems cut across religious boundaries and are common to Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Buddhist. If such an assembly could not come to an agreement on any particular minority matters they could be referred to international arbitration. We are perfectly prepared to abide by the decision of such an international tribunal in such matters. But the question of arbitration does not arise over the question of independence. That and allied question of self-determination must be recognised and accepted before there is a necessity of arbitration over minor matters. On independence we cannot compromise.

INDIA WILL NOT PUT UP WITH DOMINATION

Can the Indians get together ? I have no doubt that they can and they will. Even to-day there is an amazing unity of outlook among them and whatever their internal differences might be, they stand for independence. The real obstacle in the way of real unity and progress is foreign domination. From every point of view it has become an urgent and immediate necessity that British should relinquish her hold in India and recognise Indian Independence. There is no other way and it is certain, whether Britain likes it or not, that India must be given complete independence.

The approach of war to India has made this an even more vital question. Independent India would treat America and Britain as allies in a common enterprise to release her vast energy and resources against every aggressor who invaded her territory. But Indians can no longer function as slaves and underlings in their own country or outside or tolerate being treated as cattles by dominant foreign authorities. Submission to this is for them the worst kind of spiritual degradation.

The East will put up with it no longer. Asia will come back to her own through whatever travail and suffering fate might have in store for her. China has poured out her heart's blood in defence of her freedom. India would do likewise if the opportunity came to her to fight for her freedom. She seeks no dominion over others, but she will put up with no domination over herself. Only independence will release her from long bondages and allow her to play her part fittingly in the terrible drama of the world to-day.

SECTION XXV
The Wheel Moves On

An individual can stand still but a nation cannot. The wheel of change moves on, says Nehru. So India must keep abreast with mankind in other parts of the world. The progress of humanity is a thrilling story, and Jawaharlal gives us glimpses of imperceptible changes that are taking place round us. This collection of quotations will prove of use alike to the spiritualist and the statesman, because it provides wholesome food for thought.

I

In one of our old Sanskrit books there is a verse which can be translated as follows: "For the family sacrifice the individual, for the Community the family, for the country the community, and for the Soul the whole world." What the Soul is, few of us can know or tell, and each one of us can interpret in a different way. But the lesson this Sanskrit verse teaches usis the same lesson of co-operation and sacrifice for the larger good. We in India had forgotten this sovereign path to real greatness for many a day, and so we had fallen. But again we seem to have glimpses of it, and all the country is astir. How wonderful it is to see men and women, and boys and girls, smilingly going a head in India's cause and not caring about any pain or suffering! Well may they smile and be glad, for the joy of serving in a great cause is theirs; and to those who are fortunate comes the joy of sacrifice also. **To-day we are trying to free India. That is a great thing. But an even greater is the cause of humanity itself. And because we feel that our struggle is a part of the great human struggle to end suffering and misery, we can rejoice that we are doing our little bit to help the progress of the world.**

BRILLIANT PERIODS

It is strange and fascinating how in the lives of nations such periods of brilliant life come and go. For a while they brighten up everything and enable the men and women of that period and country to create things of beauty. People seem to become inspired. Our country, too, has had such periods. The earliest of these that we know of was the period which gave birth to the Vedas and the Upanishads and other books. Unfortunately, we have no record of

those ancient days, and many beautiful and great works may have perished or may still await discovery. But we have enough to show what giants of mind and thought were those Indians of old. In later Indian history we have also had such brilliant periods and perhaps in our wanderings through the ages we may come across them too.

THE RIVER OF LIFE

Of the writing of letters there is no end so long as pen and paper and ink hold out. And of writing on world happenings also there is no end, for this world of ours rolls on, and the men and women and children in it laugh and weep, and love and hate, and fight each other unceasingly. It is a story that goes on and on and has no ending. And in the to-day in which we live, life seems to be flowing faster than ever, its tempo is swifter, and changes come rapidly one after the other. Even as I write it changes, and what I write to-day may be out of date, distant, and perhaps out of place, to-morrow. **The river of life is never still; it flows on, and sometimes, as now, it rushes forward, pitilessly, with a demon energy, ignoring our little wills and desires making cruel mock of our petty selves, and tossing us about like straws on its turbulent waters, rushing on and on, no one knows whither--to a great precipice which will shatter it into a thousand bits, or to the vast and inscrutable, stately and calm, ever-changing and yet changeless sea.**

I have written already far more than I ever intended or than I ought to have done My pen has run on. We have finished our long wandering and have completed the last long stage. We have reached to-day and stand on the threshold of to-morrow, wondering what it will be like when it also, in its turn, becomes to-day. Let us pause a little and look round the world. How does it stand on this seventh day of August nineteen hundred and thirty-three?

Our incursions into history have shown us how the world has grown more and more compact, how different parts have come together and become interpendent The world has indeed become one single inseparable whole, each part influencing, and being influenced by the other. It is quite impossible now to have a separate history of nations. We have outgrown that stage, and only a single world history, connecting the different threads from all nations, and seeking to find the real forces that move them, can now be written with any useful purpose.

So it is to-day with us. **Mighty forces are at work moving the hundreds of millions of human beings, and they go ahead like an earthquake or some other upheaval of Nature. We cannot stop them, however much we may try, and yet we may, in our own little corner of the world, make some slight difference to them in speed or direction.** According to our different temperaments we meet them—some frightened by them, others welcoming them, some trying to combat them, others submitting helplessly to the heavy hand of fate, whil

still others try to ride the tempest and control it a little and direct it, willingly facing the perils that this involves for the joy of helping actively in a mighty process.

SOVIET UNION AND UNITED STATES

Two great countries stand out—the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the two most powerful nations of the modern world, almost self-sufficient within their far-flung territories, almost unbeatable. For varying reasons both are opposed to Fascism and Nazism. **In Europe Soviet Russia remains the sole barrier to fascism ; if she were destroyed there would be a complete end of democracy in Europe, including France and England.** The United States are far from Europe, and cannot easily, and have no desire to, intervene in its affairs. But when such intervention comes in Europe or the Pacific, the tremendous strength of America will make itself felt effectively.

On the side of freedom are also the rising democracies of India and the East, and some of the British Dominions are far more advanced than the British Government. **Democracy and freedom are in grave peril to-day, and the peril is all the greater because their so-called friends stab them in the back.** But Spain and China have given us wonderful and inspiring examples of the true spirit of democracy, and in both these countries, through the horror of war, a new nation is being created, and there is a revival and a renaissance in many fields of national life and activity.

In 1935 there was the invasion of Abyssinia ; in 1936 Spain was attacked ; in 1937 China was invaded and afresh ; in 1938 Austria was invaded and removed from the map by Nazi Germany, and Czechoslovakia was broken up and reduced to vassalage. Each year has brought its full crop of disaster ; what of 1939 on whose threshold we stand ? What will it bring to us and to the world ?

—*Glimpses of World History.*

II
THE GREAT REVOLUTION

The world war is obviously part of a great revolution taking place throughout the world. To consider it in only military terms is to miss the real significance of what is happening. Causes lie deep, and it would be foolish to imagine that all our present troubles are due to the vanity and insatiable ambition of certain individuals or peoples. Those individuals or peoples represent evil tendencies. But they also represent the urge for change from an order that has lost stability and equilibrium and that is heartily disliked by vast numbers of people. Part of the aggressors' strength is certainly due to their challenge to this old system. To oppose these inevitable changes and seek to perpetuate the old, or even to be passive about them, is to surrender on a revolutionary plane to the aggressors are out to impose tyranny far worse than any that has existed, and therefore, they should be opposed. To sumbit to them is to invite degradation of the worst type, a spiritual collapse far worse than even military defeat. We see

what has happened in Vichy France. We know what has taken place in Central Europe and in Northern China. And yet that fear of a possible worse fate is not enough, and certainly it does not affect the masses of population who are thoroughly dissatisfied with their present lot. They want some positive deliverance to shake them out of their passivity, some cause that immediately affects them to fight for. A proud people do not accept present degradation and misery for fear that something worse may take its place.

Thus the urgent need is to give a moral and revolutionary lead to the world, to convince it that the old order has gone and a new one really based on freedom and democracy has taken its place. **No promises for the future are good enough, no half measures will help ; it is the present that counts ; for it is in the present that the war is going to be lost or own, and it is out of this present that the future will take shape.** President Roosevelt has spoken eloquently about this future and about the four freedoms, and his words have found an echo in millions of hearts. But the words are vague and do not satisfy, and no action follows those words. The Atlantic Charter is again a pious and nebulous expression of hope, which stimulates nobody, and even this, Mr. Churchill tells us, does not apply to India.

If this urgent necessity for giving a moral and revolutionary lead were recognized and acted upon, then the aggressor nations would be forced to drop the cloak that hides many of their evil designs, and new forces of vast dimensions would rise up to check them. Even the peoples of Europe now under Nazi domination would be affected. But the greatest effect would be produced in Asia and Africa. And that may well be the turning point of the war. Only freedom and the conviction that they are fighting for their own freedom can make people fight as the Chinese and Russians have fought.

I would suggest that the leaders of America and Britain declare : First, that every country is entitled to full freedom and to shape its own destiny, subject only to certain international requirements and their adjustment by international co operation. Second, that this applies fully to countries at present within the British Empire, and that India's independence is recognized as well as her right to frame her own constitution through an assembly of her elected representatives, who will also consider her future relations with Britain and other countries. Third, that all races and peoples must be treated as equal and allowed equal opportunities of growth and development. **Individual and races may and do differ, and some are culturally or intellectually more mature than others. But the door of advancement must be open to all ; indeed those that are immature should receive every help and encouragement.** Nothing has alienated people more from the Nazis than their racial theories and the brutal application of these theories. But a similar doctrine and its application are in constant evidence in subject countries.

Such a declaration clearly means the ending of imperialism everywhere with all its dominating position and special privileges. That will be a greater blow to Nazism and Fascism than any military riumph, for Nazism and Fascism are an intensification of the principle of imperialism. The issue of freedom will then be clean and clear before the world, and no subterfuge or equivocation will be poss'ble.

—*India's Day of Reckoning.*

III

SALVATION OF THE WORLD

I have already indicated that I believe in the non-co-operation movement as inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi. **I believe that the salvation of India and, indeed, of the world will come through non-violent non-co-operation. Violence has had a long career in the world. It has beenweighed repeatedly and found wanting.** The present condition of Europe is eloquent testimony of the inefficiency of violence to settle anything. I believe that violence in Europe will go from excess to excess and will perish in the flames it has itself kindled and be reduced to ashes. Many people smile and fling cheap sneers at the prospect of non-violence ever coming into its own and directing the affairs of men and nations. They point to the frailty of human nature and the universal prevalence of anger and hatred and violence. I am afraid few of us are free from these. I know to my sorrow that I am still of violent thoughts and can with difficulty drag myself back to this straight and narrow path But those who mock and smile would do well if they realised the power of the ideas and if they studied the progress of this particular idea. For it has already caught the imagination of the thinkers of the world and the Indian masses have been wonderfully affected by it.

Non-co-operation and non-violence, these are the two essential ingredients of this movement. The idea of non-co-operation is simple enough clear to the meanest intellect, but none the less few of us had realised it, excepting partly during the Bengal partition days till Mahatmaji issued his call to action. **Evil flourishes only because we tolerate and assist it, the most despotic and tyrannical government can only carry on because the people it governs themselves submit to it. England holds India in bondage because Indians co-operate with the Englishmen and thereby strengthen British rule.** Withdraw the co-operation and the fabric of foreign rule collapses. That follows automatically and requires no proof.

But in spite of the logic and of the inevitability of the result, many of us cannot adopt this obvious method. The subtle position of the British rule has enervated us and emasculated us and made coward of us all. We have lost the spirit of adventure and we cannot take a risk even though the prize be so splendid as the freedom of India. The idea of non-co-operation has taken root and has sunk down to the masses, but sustained courage is lacking to give outward expression to

this idea. With many it is an economic question. But what shall we say of those who even without this incentive give their time, energy and money to organise the innumerable functions for the honour and glory of English officials? To such a depth we have sunk that men of intelligence and education among us think it no shame to help in their own dishonour. I make no complaint of the English officials. They are brave men serving their country to the best of their ability. I wish our men were equally brave and would think as often of the honour and dignity of their own country.

FEAR AND COWARDICE

I firmly believe in the efficiency of non-violence. But non violence has nothing to do with cowardice or weakness. Mahatmaji repeatedly stated that even violence is preferable to cowardie. Fear and cowardice are the greatest sins and unhappily we have enough of them in our country. Our anger and hatred are really the outcome of our fear and impotence. If we could get rid of this fear and cowardice, there would be little hatred left or any other obstacle to our onward march. Let us, therefore, root out this cowardice and give it no shelter. Above all, let it not masquerade, as it unfortunately often does as non-violence. "A world of evil" says a great Frenchman "is preferable to emasculated good". There is too much sappiness and softness in us, too much emasculated good. One is almost driven to the conclusion that we are inanely and passively good, if good that is, because this is the path of least resistance and because we have not the courage to be evil. We dare not sin, though we think of it often enough and would like to do so.

This is hateful condition. It is dishonest, neuter and hypocritical. Better the honest man of evil who sins consciously and knowingly and with the strength that is in him. When he reforms, he will be a tower of strength to the cause of good, because his foundations are strong. But the inanely and hypocritically good can be of use to no cause. There is no strength in them, their foundations are laid up on the shifting sands. And so there is no place for the cowardly in the non-violent movement.

October 1923

IV

NO FAITH IN SECRET DIPLOMACY

The success of our movement could well be gauged by the number and variety of the ordinances which are produced with regularity in the factories of Simla. The fact that this ordinance is the severest of all is in itself a sign that the British Government in India is getting in a bad way.

Indeed, the time has come when from the point of view of the British Government, every one of us should be a rebel. It is clear that India, big as it is, is not big enough to contain both the Indian people and the British Government. One of the two has to go and there can be little doubt as to which this is going to be.

To-day every man has to choose between the two flags, the flag of Indian freedom and the flag of foreign domination. The country has made its choice and had struck to it in spite of all the frightfulness and methods of barbarism which history had associated in the past with the Huns. Not only have we experienced a surfeit of savagery but we have had a refinement of cruelty and hypocricy-barbarous behaviour trying to preserve an innocent, and saintly appearance.

Recently Lord Irwin made a speech in which he criticised the Congress in connection with the recent efforts of Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. I do not take much interest in Viceregal utterances but two or three things he wished to make clear. The first is about the strange charge regarding secret diplomacy. For anyone to accuse an organisation or a group with which Mahatma Gandhi is connected with any secrecy or with any diplomacy in a bad sense shows his amazing ignorance. Lord Irwin is evidently ill-served by his set of informers. This has led him to be surprised many a time in the past and he will have further cause for surprise many times again. The Congress stands for open diplomacy at every stage and in every way. Indeed on the very first occasion when Mr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar visited Naini Jail, they were told clearly and in writing that no private assurance of secret understanding would be accepted by us, partly because we had enough of the assurances of Viceroys and others which had not been kept. At every stage and at every step of the negotiations this point was driven home to Messrs. Sapru and Jayakar. Lord Irwin refers to a certain formula which was approved of by Pandit Motilal Nehru long before the negotiations started. He does not state that this formula was only meant as the basis for consultation with Mahatmaji. Lord Irwin and the Government whose agent he is in India may take it that so far as the Congress is concerned, we shall not be satisfied at any step with any private assurance or anything secret.

Lord Irwin further hints, I do not know on what basis, that the terms put forward were for show purposes only and we were out to bargain. It is strange that he has not realised that people who are out to bargain do not jump into a fire or get themselves shot or get lathi blows or break up their families to go to jail in scores of thousands.

Let him realise once for all that we are in deadly earnest, we have burnt our boats, we have taken the great resolve and there is no going back for us. For two years now the Congress has moved from step to step after due notice with inexorable logic. Let all realise that the Congress stands for the independence of India and it will fight on to the bitter end till it has achieved it.

It has become a pastime for some individuals, who dare not show themselves in public to criticise the Congress. Without confidence in themselves or in the cause or in our country, always fearful and terrified, some of these persons have left



A CALL TO COLOURS

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recently delivered a lecture at Sraddhananda Park, Calcutta, where Sarat Chandra Bose presided, exhorting the people to support the Congress in the elections



THE NEXT STEP

Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were planning "to appeal to the heads of the principal United Nations for an honourable agreement" when they were clapped into the prison on August 9, 1942.

India by the back-door at the bidding and at the nomination of the representative of the foreign government here to speak in the name of India. It is a scandalous state of affairs that the nominees of the enemy should thus go secretly and parley with the enemy whilst the fight is in progress.

The Congress to-day is the Indian people including every major and minor community. The Congress is not even Mahatma Gandhi, great as he is. When the Indian people decide otherwise, they can put an end to our movement or carry it on in any other form. It is because the Indian People have entrusted us with this duty and made us take a pledge and carry it out that we cannot be false to our pledge and our people.

If Lord Irwin or any of his colleagues want to know what the Indian people think, why do they not come down from their mountain tops and go to the bazars and the fields and the factories, and watch the lathi charges, the atrocities on women and old men and children and the firing. No, they have chosen the other path of shutting their eyes to truth, suppressing it and deliberately preventing it from spreading by various ordinances and the like and then making an hysterical reference in praise of the police and the military. But we do not complain.

Lord Irwin has also referred in his speech to what was said in the Lahore Presidential Address on the subject of violence and non-violence. It is always interesting to read a sermon on morals from one who does not practise them. If England was invaded by Germany or Russia, would Lord Irwin go about advising his people to refrain from violence against the invader. If he is not prepared to do that, let him not raise the issue It is for Mahatma Gandhi and others who believe with him to do so.

So far as the speaker was concerned, he stuck by every word he has said in Lahore. They had adopted the policy of non-violence because they believed in it and they wished to give it the fullest trial in all honesty. Recent events have conclusively shown the wonderful efficacy of that policy and he, for one, hoped that the country would stick to it and thereby achieve success.

BHAGAT SINGH'S COURAGE

But let there be no mistake about it. Whether he agreed with him or not, my heart is full of admiration for the courage and self-sacrifice of a man like Bhagat Singh. **Courage of the Bhagat Singh type is exceedingly rare. If the Viceroy expects us to refrain from admiring this wonderful courage and the high purpose behind it, he is mistaken. Let him ask his own heart what he would have felt if Bhagat Singh had been an Englishman and acted for England.**

Coming to the programme ahead of them, he said, that so far as the main items were concerned like the boycott of foreign cloth, the boycott of British goods, Prohibition and the Salt Tax, there could be no compromise of any kind on any of these issues. He expressed his deep appreciation of the attitude of the merchants which had brought about the wonderful boycott of foreign cloth. He made it clear, however, that no Congress Committee had any right or authority to come to terms with any foreign cloth dealers which were other than complete exclusion of foreign cloth from the market. The various no-tax campaigns going on in parts of the country will have to be extended soon to other parts.

The first phase of the great struggle had come to an end and had been marked by a great national awakening to which the world had been an admiring witness. Now the second stage was beginning, the stage of our laying the foundations of a future free India. Every city, every mohalla, every village must now play its part in this effort by making itself ready to become a living self-dependent entity in free India. We must be prepared not only nor to pay any taxes to the British Government but also to do without any service which they may render to us. While lawyers argue and raise their petty quibbles in London we in India will fight for the reality, the conquest of Power.

—*The Pioneer.*

The following message to the country was issued by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the 12th October 1930:—

After six months of enforced absence I am returning to my post of duty resuming charge of the high office with which the nation entrusted me at Lahore. In doing so, I wish to express my deep gratitude to the several acting presidents of the All-India Congress Committee who have led the great struggle for freedom with high courage and self-sacrifice during these six months, to Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. M. A. Ansari and Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman. To the nation, I mu t pay my reverent homage for the magnificent fight that has been put up. I pray that I may be given wisdom and strength so that I may not prove an unworthy son of India in her hour of trial and an ignoble countryman of the martyrs of Peshawar and Sholapur and Bombay and all the other places where the sons and daughters of the motherland have suffered for the great cause. Hundreds have died that India may live, tens of thousands have suffered great bodily injury and forty to fifty thousand lie behind the prison bars. May their noble sacrifice inspire us to redoubled effort leading to the independence of our beloved country.

October 12, 1930. . . . *Jawaharlal Nehru.*

V

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION

In India to-day and indeed in the world there is a great deal of argument and debate on matters political and social. From all this argument two sets of opposing ideas emerge. One is the reformist idea which believes in a gradual betterment with the consent of those in power or in positions of privilege to-day. It believes in a slow evolutionary process. In the political field it believes in the achievement of Dominion Status by agreement or consent of the British; in the economic field it relies on a gradual conquest of power from the capitalist and the landholder with their consent also, though this may be grudging and partial; in the purely social domain reforms are to come by the slow displacement of the parties of privilege. The other idea is the revolutionary one which seeks rapid change and does not believe in the holders of power ever giving it up unless they are forced to do so. Consent comes in here also; but it is the unwilling and forced consent of the vanquished.

These rival ideas are fighting for mastery to-day. There is little doubt as to which will emerge victorious in the end. **To a large extent both the evolutionary and the revolutionary methods work side by side Every revolution is preceded by a process of evolution and preparation.** But difference in ideology is of vital importance and therefore, it becomes essential for you to make your choice and throw all your strength and might on the side you favour.

If any of you believe that you can force power out of those who possess it to-day by sweet reason and argument, then all I can say is that you have not read history with much profit nor have paid much heed to recent events in India. The problem before us is the problem of the conquest of power, In our Councils and Assemblies where fine speeches, however strongly-worded they may be, do not affect the seat of power, we see an outward show of argument and reason, although even then the attitude of official spokesmen is often insulting and overbearing. But go outside to the fields and the market-place and you will find that whenever there is a clash between the popular will and the will of the Government, however peaceful the people may be, the Government meets them, not by argument and reason, but by the bayonet and the policeman's baton, by shooting and sometimes by martial law. The fundamental fact of the situation is the bayonet and baton. How can you argue or be sweetly reasonable with cold steel and dead wood? You must meet them, if you wish to overcome them, by other methods; by the development of sanctions greater and more powerful than the bayonet and baton that face you.

The Government, it is said, must preserve law and order. What matters it, if this results in the gravest disorder and in

death and injury to the people? Every Indian knows the crimes that have been and are being committed in the name of law and order and yet there are some of us still who are obsessed by this notion. Law and order are the last refu e of the reactionary, of the tyrant and of him who has power and refuses to part with it. **There can be no law or order till freedom comes, for as the French philosopher Proudhon said, "Liberty is not the daughter but the mother of order."**

The advocates of reformism make earnest and eloquent pleas for change. With an advocate, zeal they try to score fine legal points over their adversaries. But their forensic ability is wasted on their opponents who carry on unmoved, well knowing that their power is not threatened by such method; it rests on the solid steel of the bayonet And unhappily even the common man on whose behalf the reformists argue, is unmoved by their argument. He does not understand it, nor is any great attempt made to make him understand. All the energy is spent in compromises between the leaders, in efforts to lull various vested interests, and the masses are ignored. Is it any wonder that the masses in their turn remain apathetic and do not respond to the call of leaders? The head of the nation is so far away from the rest of the body that the trunk can hardly see it.

It is not thus that freedom has been won and great changes brought about. The voice that claims it must be the voice of revolt, the dull and threatening roar from a hundred thousand and a million throats, not the sweetly modulated tones of an accomplished debator. When that voice is raised, England, as she has always done in the past, will bow to the inevitable. But if that voice is not raised, do not imagine that you can hoax or trick the English people out of power.

This voice of the masses will only be raised if you put before them an ideal and a programme which affects them and improves their economic condition. And when raised, it will only be followed by action if the end in view is worth the struggle and sacrifice. —*December 12, 1928.*

VI

MODERN KNOWLEDGE

Modern knowledge is amazinlgly intricate and wide-spread. Tens of thousands of investigators work away continuously, each experimenting in his particular department, each burrowing away in his own patch, and adding tiny bit by bit to the mountain of knowledge. The field of knowledge is so vast that each worker has to be a specialist in his own line. Often he is unaware of other departments of knowledge, and thus, though he is very learned in some branches of knowledge, he is unlearned about many others. It becomes difficult for him to take a wise view of the whole field of human activity. He is not cultured in the old sense of the word.

It is interesting to notice how the study of certain animals has helped in the development of science. The poor frog was cut up to find out how nerves and muscles functioned. The tiny and insignificant little fly which often sits over ripe bananas, hence called the banana fly, has led to more knowledge about heredity than anything else. From careful observations of this fly it has been found how the characteristics of one generation pass on by inheritance to the next generation. To some extent this helps in understanding the working of heredity in human beings.

CITIES AND CIVILIZATION

Cities and civilisation often go together, I have just said. With the growth of cities learning also grows and the spirit of freedom. Men living in rural area are scattered and are often very superstitious. They seem to be at the mercy of the elements. They have to work hard and have little leisure, and they dare not disobey their lords. In cities large numbers live together ; they have the opportunity of livinig a more civilized life, of learning, of discussion and criticizing, and thinking.

The art of a people is a true mirror of their minds, and so, as the simplicity of early Buddhist thought gave place to elaborate symbolism, even so Indian art became more and more elaborate and ornate. In particular, the Mahayana sculpture of the north-west, in Gandhara, was full of elaboration of statuary and ornament. Even the Hinayana architecture could not keep itself wholly untouched by this new phase, and it lost gradually the restraint and simplicity of its earlier style and took to rich carving and symbolism.

There are a few monuments of this period with us still. The most interesting are some of the beautiful frescoes at Ajanta.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The nineteenth century ! What a long time we have been held up by these 100 years ! For four months, off and on, I have written to you about this period, and I am a little weary of it, and perhaps will you be when you read these letters. I began by telling you that it was a fascinating period, but even fascination pales after a while. We have really gone beyond the nineteenth century and are fairly well advanced into the twentieth. **The year 1914 was our limit. It was in that year that the dogs of war, as the saying goes, were let loose on Europe and the world. That year forms a turning point in history. It is the close of one epoch and the beginning of another.**

The world has changed so greatly during these years, and is changing still, that it seems that an age has passed since then, and 1914 and the years that preceded it go back into the history of long ago and become parts of a distant past of which we read in books, and which is so different from our own day. Of these great changes I shall have something to tell you later. One warning I shall give you now. You are learning geography at school and the geography

you learn is very different from what I had to learn when I was at school in the years before 1914. And it may be that much of this geography that you are learning to-day, you may have to unlearn before long, even as I had to do. Old landmarks, old countries disappeared in the smoke of war, and new ones, with names difficult to remember, took their place. Hundreds of cit.es changed their names almost overnight; St. Petersburg became Petrograd and then Leningrad, Constantinople must now be called Istambul, Peking is known as Peiping and, Prague of Bohemia has become Praha of Czechoslovakia.

THE WHEEL OF GHANGE

And so the wheel of change moves on, and those who were down go up and those who were up go down. It was time it moved in our country. But we have given in such a push this time that no one can stop it.

Inqilab Zindabad ! —*Glimpses of World History.*

SECTION XXVI

The Parting of the Ways

India and England have at last come to the parting of the ways. Jawaharlal wrote a magnificent essay on the subject i August 1940. It was published in March 1941 by the Congres with a foreword by Mahatma Gandhi "I think", says Gandhiji, "It is too precious a document to be withheld from the public . . . I believe that it correctly represents in moderate though forcible language the Congress position . . . . Though the author has said not one word about non-violence, he has led the reader to the inevitable conclusion that the independence of Jawaharlal's conception, nay, Congress Conception cannot be won except through unadulterated non-violence and the present struggle is an attempt to keep the spirit of non-violence alive in the midst of the fratricidal inhuman carnage. If it is a contribution to India's freedom, it is no less contribution to world peace".

To say that anything has happened in India which lead to a parting of the ways as between Britain and India is incorrect For their ways have been separate as they were bound to be, so long as England was the dominating imperialist Power and India was subject to her will. Such a relation could only be based on coercion and coercion cannot lead to a marching together hand in hand. It can only lead to the dominant party chaining and pulling the other and dragging it against its will or to a breaking of this chain.

So our ways have laid in different directions and a continuous tug of war has resulted ; sometimes the conflict has been psychological and wordy, sometimes it has been rebellious. In 1857 a bloody rebellion took place and it was suppressed in a ghastly manner. The conflict continued, bitter and persistent, though it was not so obvious on the surface. It took place in the organisation of the National Movement, which spoke softly for a while and then its voice grew harder as it came to represent the real feelings of the people. Another rebellion against the dominating authority took shape, a peaceful one, discarding all methods of violence, but more powerful and widespread than any previous one. The hundreds of millions of India, weary their long subjection and poverty and exploitation, shed their fear and looking the dominating imperialism in the face, demanded freedom.

There were many ups and downs, and much suffering and sorrow came to these millions, but there was no looking back for them. The conflict continued in various ways and meanwhile the world rushed towards the abyss of self-destruction. India's problem began to be viewed in a larger perspective and in relation to the difficulties that encompassed the world. Though our vision became broader and deeper, and though it tried to peep into the future, yet the problem remained essentially one of Indian nationalism versus British Imperialism. India's freedom and independence were the prerequisities for us in order to play our part in the larger world. And in that larger world also, it seemed to us a sham and a mockery to talk of freedom and democracy, and yet hold on to imperialism.

Fascism and nazism were anathema to us and the horrors of Central Europe produced a powerful reaction on India. Yet we remembered, how can we ever forget the horrors we had witnessed in India ? Yet we saw and felt, to the innermost core of our being, the day to day humiliation of our own people. We were not wise or clever enough to understand that though fascism and nazism were definitely bad, imperialism was not so bad after all.

War came in Europe and we discovered that India had also been declared a belligerent country, without so much as a formala reference or intimation to any representatives of the people of India The Congress might be considered a non-official organisation, but. there was the Central Assembly, there were the Provincial Governo ments enjoying, it was said, provincial autonomv. None of these was told or asked for its opinion.

The air resounded with loud cries invoking freedom and asserting the sanctity of democracy. They sounded good. But we had heard these cries so often before and experienced for ourselves the aftermath. We could not be easily swept away ; we were cautious, doubly so because of the way in which the War had been imposed upon us, despite our repeated warnings. Was this freedom and democracy meant for us also, or only for the favoured mortals who lived in Europe and its extensions ? Did it mean that imperialism would go from here and elsewhere ?

We inquired from the British Government and asked to be enlightened, so that we might know what course we should pursue. Our inquiries were considered irrelevant and impertinent. Yet the answers that they gave indicated sufficiently clearly that there was no intention and, so far as they were concerned, no possibility of the imperialist structure in India, no question of power being transferred to the people's representatives. The National Congress had not asked anything for itself. It wanted no job in high places, which it could have had even without asking for them. It wanted a declaration for independence for India and a Constituent Assembly, elected by the people to frame the constitution of a free India, with full safeguards for the protection of all minority rights.

In the mind and heart of India there was a conflict. There was an intense dislike of Fascism and Nazism and no desire to sée them win. If India could but be convinced that this war was being fought for a new world order, for real freedom, then indeed India would throw all her weight and strength into it. **But imperialism and we were old acquaintances, very old, with many generations of contact. We know each other, suspected each other, and disliked each other thoroughly. There was this background of one hundred and eighty years of hostility, of exploitation, of bitterness, of promises unfulfilled, of disruptive and reactionary movements encouraged, and attempts to break up the national unity of India.** It was no easy matter for us to get over these tremendous hurdles, or remove the complexes that had grown up. Yet we said we would do it, but we could not even attempt it unless a great psychological shock was given to the people, a pleasant shock, which would suddenly change the air of India and get rid of fears and complexes. That pleasant shock could only come by an unequivocal declaration of independence and immediate steps to give effect to the popular will in the carrying on of the administration. Unless this was done, no man in India, no group could make the people move in the direction of willing association with the War.

Wars to-day require mass support and even authoritarian countries have to whip up their people by ceaseless propaganda. No war can be fought effectively by a professional army in an atmosphere of public ill-will or indifference. So even from the narrower point of view of organising India's defence or India's participation in the war effort, a popular representative government was essential. Imperialism can coerce; it cannot win publis approval and goodwill.

The Viceroy and the British Government said 'No' to us, and our course seemed to be clear. The Congress Governments in the Provinces resigned and parliamentary governments in these Provinces ceased, because it was not prepared to submit to the British Government's fiat against the wishes of the people it represented. **It was the old conflict between King and Parliament taking a new shape; the Viceroy and the Governors represented the King's Veto, our elected assemblies the will of the people.** In western Europe this conflict had raged hundreds of years ago and resulted in establishing the authority of Parliament. A king lost his head in the process in England; another king also lost nis head in France. In America a proud and freedom-loving people resisted the authority of a distant king and his ministers and after a long struggle established their own freedom.

But in India, in the twentieth century, on the eve of the new order that was promised in the face of loud declarations in favour of freedom and democracy, in India, parliamentary govern-

ment, such as it existed in the Provinces, was suspended. The Viceroy's authority was supreme; he could make laws and unmake them, tax people and coerce them without the slightest reference to any representative body.

The Congress Ministries had resigned, it is true, though they had the great majority of the members of the Assemblies behind them. They resigned because they could not accept the Viceroy's mandates or the British Government's policy. But the Assemblies were still there. The Viceroy or the Governors could have dissolved them and had a fresh election. But they knew well that such an election would result in an overwhelming majority in favour of the Congress Governments that had resigned. No other Ministry was possible as it could not command a majority. So the only course was for the Provincial Assemblies to be suspended, no fresh elections, and the Viceroy and Governors to exercise dictatorial powers. It was a clear case of conflict between the people and parliament on the one side and the King's representatives on the other. One party had to be suppressed or to give in. Parliament was suppressed. It was as if Mr. Neville Chamberlain, unable to carry Parliament with him, had advised the King to suspend it and to rule by decree, or President Roosevelt, in a like predicament, were to ignore the House of Representatives and the Senate and constitute himself the dictator. We hear a great deal about authoritarianism and dictators and England's chiefs condemn both in resonant and forcible language. Yet in India to-day there is full-blooded dictatorship and authoritarianism.

Our course was clear. Yet we restrained and held ourselves, even though many amongst us were indignant with us, even though many colleagues of ours found their way to prisons for the offence of explaining our policy to the people. We were hesitant because we hoped against hope that England's Government, including some progressives and labour elements, might, in this hour of supreme trial, shake itself out of its deadening imperialism, and act according to its professions. We had no desire to encourage the Nazi rulers in any way; the thought of their domination over Europe and elsewhere was a painful one. We who had suffered as a subject people knew well what this would mean for others. We, of all people could not tolerate the racial views and racial oppression of the Nazis. The horror that enveloped Holland and Belgium, the supreme tragedy of France deeply moved us. The imminent peril of England made us feel that we should not add to her difficulties and embarrassments. Though England's ruling classes have treated us badly and her imperialism may have crushed us, we had no illwill for her people, who were bravely facing peril and extreme danger. We tried hard to find a way out-honourable and advantageous to both India and England. We made new proposals, even going beyond our own mandate given at the last sessions of the Congress at Ramgarh. We pledged ourselves for the organisation of Indian defence and help in the war effort. But we could

only do so as free people, with the goodwill and co-operation of India's millions. **That freedom must be declared and a provisional national government formed, which would represent not one party only but various important elements. The fundamental basis for this proposal was the recognition that the imperialist structure had to go.**

The Viceroy and the British Government have said a final 'No' to us and to India. On the eve of the French collapse, Britain's rulers were unorthodox enough to propose a union of England and France. That was an astonishing proposal. It came too late. But it showed that the British Government had got out of the ruts and could take a big step if the situation demanded it. But where their own interests are so vitally concerned as in India, they still live in the ruts and not all the shock of war and danger has taken them out. Even an obvious advantage in this War cannot make them give up the special position that imperialism has conferred upon them. They talk complacently still of their empire and of their desire to maintain it, forgetting perhaps that the word which sounds so good to them, is a symbol to us of our own subjection, degradation and poverty.

I repeat that it is incorrect to say that there is any new parting of the ways, for our ways never lay together. But this declaration of the British Government means the final breaking of such slender bonds as held our minds together, it means the ending of all hope that we shall ever march together. I am sorry, for in spite of my hostility to British imperialism and all imperialisms, I have loved much that was England, and I should have liked to keep the silken bonds of the spirit between India and England. Those bonds can only exist in freedom. I wanted India's freedom for India's sake of course; but I also wanted it for England's sake. That hope is shattered and fate seems to have fashioned a different future for us. The way of co-operation is not for us; the hundred year old hostility will remain and grow in future conflicts, and the breach when it comes, as come it must, will also not be in friendship but in hostility.

I am told that the British Government has been led to believe that we shall tamely submit to their decrees because so far we have been quiescent. Our very restraint appears to have made them think that we were incapable of any action. **In this world of force, of bombing aeroplanes, tanks and armed men, how weak we are. Why trouble about us? But perhaps, even in this world of armed conflict, there is such a thing as the spirit of men, and the spirit of a nation, which is neither ignoble nor weak, and which may not be ignored, save at peril.**

To those of us who are intimately connected with Indian politics, the British Government's reply needs no analysis or clarification. To do them justice, it is clear enough and there is no ambiguity. Yet others perhaps might miss its significance and be

misled by the use of resounding words into thinking that something worth while was offered, that the people of India were getting some power in her government.

It is proposed to appoint some non-official Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council. This Council is no real Executive or Cabinet ; it is merely advisory. Real power rests with the Viceroy who does not always take members of his Council into his confidence. They are heads of departments, advising the Viceroy about their special subjects. All policy emanates from the Viceroy. In fact his is the responsibility, and he is answerable to the Secretary of State for India in the British Parliament. **If this legal, constitutional and conventional structure remains, it makes little difference who or how may people are added to the Council. They do not make an atom of difference to the Viceroy's position, power or authority, except in so far as they might try to influence him by their powers of persuasion.**

Apart from this, the addition of a few non-officials to the Executive Council does not make an essential difference to it ; the majority continues to be of the nominated official and service members, who may have their virtues (which are not very obvious) but who represent the hundred per cent. imperialistic bureaucratic type. They are completely dependent on the Viceroy for their position, and are obsequious to him. They are wholly cut off from the life, thought and activities of the people, and live in an official world of their own. Such efficiency as they have consists in running the old type of police State. They are remote from the modern world and its problems and do not understand them. They belong to an order which has passed elsewhere and which must pass in India.

Then against the so-called "representative Indians" who may be appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council will be chosen presumably from all manner of odd groups, some completely reactionary. All of them will not even represent the progressive elements in India, and in the Council, they will either neutralise each other or make matters worse. They will not be elected by the people in any way and will not be responsible to them. They will be chosen by the Viceroy in their individual capacity.

It it obvious that the addition of these few old Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council means less than nothing from any national point of view, or from the view point of any power being transferred to the people.

The second proposal is the creation of a War Advisory Council composed of an odd assortment of peeple, including some representatives of the semi-feudal Indian States. This will meet from time to time, apparently to listen to good advice and to act as recruiting sergeants and the like. They will have no executive power of any kind or indeed any other power. It will be just a show body of no relevance or importance.

These are the two proposals for the present and, as the Viceroy has made perfectly clear, the British Government do not contemplate the transfer of any power or responsibility. Further it has been stated by the Secretary of State for India that when he refers to "the principal elements in India's national life," he includes the European vested interests in India. Probably the conception os India's "national" life that Mr. Amery and the Viceroy cherish if one which consists chiefly of British vested interests, Indian feudal Princes, big landlords, communalists and other reactionaries. According to them, these "national" interests form the warp and woof of our national life and deserve protection and representation. The three or four hundred odd millions of people who live and labour and often starve are an excrescence.

So much for the present and so long as the war lasts. The golden future of our dreams, that new order of freedom of which we hear so much, is envisaged as follows. After conclusion of the War, "a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life" will be set up to devise the framework of the new Constitution. We have seen what, in the opinion of Mr. Amery and the Viceroy, these elements in India's national life are. We shall have (or so it is proposed, but destiny may dispose otherwise) a noble company of bejewelled Maharajahs, belted knights, European industrial and commercial magnates, big landlords and Talukdars, Indian industrialists, representatives of the imperial services, and a few commoner mortals, all sitting together possibly under the presidentship of the Viceroy himself, drawing up India's constitution. **Thus will India exercise her right to self-determination. It will be a pretty pattern that this assembly will produce, with a flower for every vested interest and feudal relic and with the background of British imperialism.** Above all British interests, which are so important a part of India's national life, will have been preserved and given their rightful due. We shall call this Dominion Status so that every one may be pleased.

But let it not be forgotten that even this assembly cannot have it all its own way. The British Government cannot divest itself of its high responsibility to protect British vested interests whatever happens. So whatever this assembly decides must be "subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility."

Meanwhile, it is suggested that the Government will welcome every sincere and practical step taken by representative Indians to reach a basis of friendly agreement on the form that the post-war representative body should take and the principles and outlines of the constitution. These representative Indians must of course come from the principal elements of India's national life as outlined above.

If some of us in the outer darkness do not approve of this pattern or fancy this picture, it is no doubt our misfortune. If we wonder sometimes how any British Government can presume to make this offer to the Indian people in this age of change and revolution, when empires are disappearing, and the old structure collapses all over the world, it must indicate how simple and native we are. **We ought to have known that imperialims do not abdicate ; they hold on ever when it is manifest folly to endeavour to do so. But in our simplicity we cannot help feeling a mild surprise at the fact that leaders of the British Labour Party, those champions of freedom and socialism, should be responsible for this "offer" to India.** But it is no offer. It is a decision announced and going to be imposed upon us whether we like it or not.

The Congress had ventured to suggest another way—that the Constitution should be framed by a Constituent Assembly elected by adult franchise by the people. This had the misfortune of being a democratic way and of giving an equal importance to each individual. It is true that "the principal elements of India's national life, "as conceived by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, might have found some difficulty in getting elected. Democratic elections are not always just to these important elements, like those representing British or Indian vested interests.

The Viceroy has further stated that : "It goes without saying that they (the British Government) could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government."

This statement is worthy of close consideration. It is obvious that any system of government that might be proposed for India will find many odd groups and interests opposed to it. No system can possibly be devised which will be acceptable to all these groups and interests and of the four hundred millions of India. Every agrarian legislation has to deal with the inherent conflicts between the landlord and the tenant ; every labour legislation is looked upon with disfavour by the captains of industry. **Even among industrialists in India, there is continuing conflict between British vested interests and the rising Indian industry which has been deliberately prevented from expanding so that the former might not suffer.** So the conflicts of interests run through the whole of national life as it is constituted to-day, because there are different classes with conflicting interests. Some of us would like to have a classless society and I have no doubt that it will ultimately come. Meanwhile the only known method of resolving these conflicts, other than that of force or coercion is the democratic method. If any

is desired by the great majority, this must lead to a disruption of the State and possibly to civil conflict.

The British Government's statement means that there can be no far-reaching political or economic changes, for some group is bound to object to them. Even if no Indian group objects, British vested interests will do so But there are Indian reactionary groups that will play that role. This means that the status quo will largely remain to the great advantage of British imperialism. This is the way to perpetuate the present order, to make India safe for British vested interests.

The idea that the British Government should be asked to coerce any group is absurd. No one has ever hinted at this, except the reactionaries and commmunalists who want the coercion of the progressive elements. The British Government is asked to put an end to all its present coercion; in fact to retire from the Indian scene as a government. Only then will conditions be produced in India which will induce various elements in India to seek a basis of government among themselves, for the alternative is civil war. So long as the British Government remains, it plays off one against the other, and produces an unhealthy desire in the minds of some to seek its avour as against their own compatriots.

The British Government says it will not coerce an important group to impose a system of government which this does not like. The alternative only is that it will coerce other groups who want that particular system of government. What exactly has the function of the British Government been, and what is it to-day in India? It is to coerce the Indian people as a whole, every group, in order to maintain its own hold and special position. It is to suppress Indian industry in favour of British industry in India. It is to maintain an army of occupation whose chief function is to coerce the Indian people. It is to uphold Indian Princes by coercing their subjects into submission. It is strange to be told that the British Government does not want to use coercion. What else does it do in India?

Again, how is one to tell that an important group does not want a particular system of government? Ordinarily that group votes, and other groups vote, and then it is possible to know what the feelings or intentions of various groups are. They come to a mutual arrangements, trying to find some common measure of agreement, or unhappily, they do not and there is conflict.

The British proposal is ideally suited to prevent any progress or major change. Even British interests will bar the way. As a matter of fact, the Government have gone further and stated that in any event they are not going to divest themselves of responsibility for the protection of these interests. Whatever happens, these interests

remain; and so, whatever happens, the British financial and industrial structure dominates India. It so happens that this is exactly what we want to get rid of. There is no progress or lessening of India's appalling poverty till we succeed in this. All else is secondary.

We have an intimate glimpse from the Viceroy's statement of the blessings of Dominion Status that is held out to us as a lure. Many of us, I fear, are not attracted by this picture.

It may be said that the Viceroy's statement about not coercing any large element which disapproves of a system of government applies chiefly to the religious minorities. Certainly let us agree that there must be no such coercion, and the British Government must on no account do it. Nor should others. But where does coercion come in? Who suggests it?

The Congress proposal was not that the Congress or any party or religious group should be given power. It asked for power for the Indian people as a whole, and wanted the Indian people to decide what they wanted in a democratic manner. It went further, in its desire to protect all minority interests. It agreed to separate electorates for such minorities as desired it, and laid down that matters relating to minority rights must not be settled by a majority vote. They must be settled by agreement or, if unhappily this is not possible in regard to any particular matter, through an impartial tribunal. It is difficult to a conceive any more comprehensive or effective method for minority protection, short of throwing overboard all pretence at democracy and establishing a dictatorship of the minority.

So far as the Muslims in Indian are concerned, they are only technically a minority. They are vast in numbers and powerful in other ways and it is patent that they cannot be coerced against their will, (just as the Hindus cannot be coerced against their will). If the two cannot agree as organised groups, it will be unfortunate for India and no one can say what the consequence will be. But let us always remember that in political and economic matters people do not function as religious groups. The lines of cleavage are different.

The real question of minority protection arises for others, who are neither Hindu nor Muslim. It seems amazing to me that any Indian, whether he is a Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian or belongs to any other faith, should seek protection against his own compatriots from a foreign authority. As a matter of fact they do not, except a few, who do it, not because of religion but because of vested interests.

Let us be clear about it. This communal question is essentially one of protection of vested interests and religion has always been a useful stalking horse for this purpose. Those who have feudal privileges and vested interests fear change and become the camp followers of British imperialism. The British Government, on the other hand, delights in using the communal argument to deny freedom,

democracy or any major change, and to hold on to power and privilege in India. That is the raison de'ter and the justification of communalism in India. Some one has recently rightly called the Indian princes Britain's Fifth Column in India. Communalism and its champions might well be included in this column of present day disrepute. It is not surprising, therefore, that communalists and Princes get on well together and co-operate with each other. They have a common purpose to serve —to obstruct India's freedom so that vested interests might flourish.

It is not of course enough to dispose of communalism by this simple analysis, although this is the basic explanation. There are so many other factors and it is perfectly true that mass elements, who may be affected by communalism, have neither vested interests to preserve nor have they any love for British imperialism. To understand how they have been influenced by communalism, and have often acted against their own interests, is to understand how Hitler came to influence mass elements among the German people. **The analogy is not cemplete but it helps. People are swept away by slogans which appeal to them and then they are used for entirely different purposes. There has been a strange similarity in the recent development of the communal technique in India to Nazi methods.**

Communalism began in India by a demand for a specified share in services and in representation in the legislatures It has now developed into an openly anti-national, anti-democratic movement, hinting at the partition of India. For a long while, it had no constructive or any other programme. It lived on invective, violence and general offensiveness. It is amazing how it vulgarised our public-life. It discovered that what it had valued most in the past—separate electorates—brought little good. In fact they weakened a minority group. Then by the very force of the logic of hatred and separation that it had pursued, it had to go to the extreme of demanding a partition of India. The medieval theory of religious groups constituting a political community, which collapsed before an advancing nationalism in Europe, was revived. An Idea similar to that of the Crusades, of Christendom versus Islam, suddenly appeared (It is said with British inspiration) in India. It was an astonishing throwback. Whoever else benefitted or suffered from it, it was clear that British imperialism was the gainer.

It is curious that even in early and medieval India, this theory never functioned in the western way. Other religions were welcomed. and accommodated. The early Christians came in the first century and found a home. Jews were accommodated, Muslims were welcome to spread their religion and settle down (till invasion brought poiltical conflict. Parsis came and were absorbed. Later Muslim rulers thought in terms of building up a single nation of the Muslim newcomers and the Hindus and others. The great Akbar laid the foundations for this. The new cultural elements were absorbed and a common culture gradually developed, especially in northern India.

And now we are told to go back to the pre-Akbar days, to reverse the process of history, to think in terms of medievalism. **When nationalism is giving place to internationalism, and even narrower creed than nationalism is advanced, this finds favour and protection with our British rulers. When the world is groping blindly towards a real federation of nations, it is suggested that India should be split up into various parts.**

Muslim countries—Turkey, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Persia—have long discarded this medieval theory. They are intensely nationalists and are proud of their ancient culture. Some of them deliberately go to their pre-Islamic days to find culture and inspiration. The Chinese Muslims are proud of their Chinese culture and fight for China's freedom. That is the course of history. Indeed it is a course that had already been run, and the mighty revolution that is taking place in the world to-day will lay down another course—the way to world federation based on national freedom and a juster economic system. Privilege and vested interest will have to go.

That is the goal of India—a united, free, democratic country closely associated in a world federation with other free nations. We want independence, but not the old type of narrow, exclusive independence. We believe that the day of separate warring national State is over.

We want independence and not dominion or any other status. Every thinking person knows that the whole conception of dominion status belongs to past history; it has no future. It cannot survive this War, whatever the result of this War. But whether it survives or not we want none of it. We do not want to be bound down to a group of nations which has dominated and exploited over us; we will not be in an empire in some parts of which we are treated as helots and racialism runs riot. We want to cut adrift from the financial domination of the City of London. We want to be completely free with no reservations or exceptions, except such as ourselves approve, in common with others, in order to join a Federation of Nations or a new World Order. If this new World Order or Federation does not come in the near future we should like to be closely associated in a federation with our neighbours—China, Burma, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Persia. We are prepared to take risks and face dangers. We do not want the so-called protection of the British army or navy. We shall shift for ourselves

If the past had not been there to bear witness, the presen would have made us come to this final decision. For even in thi present of war and peril, there is no change in the manner o treatment accorded to our people by British imperialism. Le those who seek the favour and protection of this imperialism go it way. We go ours. The parting of the ways has come.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

Allahabad.
10th August, 1940.

SECTION XXVII

By The Roadside

Jawaharlal Nehru is the greatest political wanderer in India. Like Socrates he goes from place to place and delivers his message to peasants on the roadside. Best of his ideas have been delivered extempore in almost in every city of India. In this section have been brought together some of his wandering experiences as well as some of his latest messages delivered to the Indian Nation in a heart-to-heart talk. Strictly speaking these are not writings, but these have been included, because these are Jawaharlal's essential kit on India's march to freedom.

I

THE CALL OF THE JUNGLE

As I journeyed from one valley to another, the railway crept along (for it went very slowly) between thick forests on either side; almost impenetrable, so they seemed. They came right up to the railway line, leaving only a narrow passage grudgingly for us to pass through. Their million eyes seemed to look down with disdain on this human effort, and were full of hostility of the forest against man, who had dared so much against it, and cleared it to enlarge his domain. The call of the jungle and the mountain has always been strong within me, a dweller of cities and of plains though I am, and I gazed at these forests, and jungles, fascinated and wondered what myriad forms of life and what tragedy they hid in their darkness. Bountiful nature or nature red in tooth and claw — was it much worse in these forest recesses than in the cities, and the dwelling places of men and women? **A wild animal kills for food to satisfy his hunger. He does not kill for sport or for the pleasure of killing. The fierce fights for jungle are individual fights, not the mass murder that man calls war; there is no wholesale destruction by bomb and poison gas.** The comparison seemed to be all in favour of the forest of the wild animals.

So I thought as I watched the passing jungles. Gatherings of people at small stations and many tribal folk with gracious gifts of fruits and flowers and cloth, woven by themselves and fresh milk came to welcome me. Bright-eyed Naga children gave me garlands to wear. Some of these tribal people pressed some money on me also, coppers and nickel coins, for Congress work, they said. And I felt ashamed and humble before their clear gaze full of faith and

affection. What of the cities with their selfishness and intrigues and money-grabbing ?

And so to our destination, and big crowds and rousing welcomes and Bande Mataram shouted vigorously to the skies. A motor journey through the villages with crowds and welcome everywhere, and on to Silchar. The audience at the meeting there seemed to be bigger than what I had been told the population of the city was. Probably many people came from the villages. For three days I rushed about the valley, chiefly in the Sylhet district. As in the Assam Valley, the roads were generally bad and prodigious number of ferries had to be crossed. But the charm and beauty of the passing scenery held me, and made me forget the roads, and the warmth of the welcome for all manner of people sent a glow to my heart.

Sylhet was definitely Bengal. The language proclaimed it, so also the Zamindari tenants who came, and of whom a large number were Muslims. And yet it had much in common with their unhappy and helpless looking labourers. Excluded areas with tribal people. It was Bengal, but it seemed to possess a definite individuality of its own, hard to define, but something what was in the air.

I was gratified by the enthusiasm for the Congress which the mass showed, and enthusiasm shared by the Muslims as well as the Hindus and even b the tribal people. Obviously good work had been done there in the past and the harvest was promising. It was pleasing also to find earnest workers in all parts of the district. Sylhet had a good number of them and the human material they deal with is also good. Much therefore can be expected of Sylhet. Unfortunately some local disputes have marred the good, but these cannot be allowed to continue.

The cause is greater than the individual, and the worker who does not realize this has failed to learn the first lesson of a Congressman. But I have confidence in Sylhet, in its people, and in its Congress workers; earnest and keen as they are and with a record of sacrifice for the cause behind them. And so, as I was leaving Sylhet was asked for a message. I said "Go, ahead, Sylhet !"

In the Bhanubil area of Sylhet I came across a large number of Manipuris. Hundreds of Charkhas with Manipuri women and girls plying the wheel, sat there in ordered array to welcome me, and their men-folk and charming children stood by. I was surprised and pleased to see Manipuris and delighted to learn of the brave part they had in economic no-tax movement of their own, some years ago, when an attempt was made to enhance their rents.

There were entirely new people, new to me and so different from all others I had seen in India. How little we knew of our own country and her children ! Their features were Mongoloid, they resembled somewhat the Burmese. Indeed the resemblances to the Burmese were many, and included the dress of their women-folk. They were, extraordinarily, neat and clean-looking, and the young girls with the laughter lurking in their eyes had quite a smart modern look. The

children were charming, with their hair over their foreheads cut short and arranged neatly in front. These fascinating people were peasant-folk with little or no education, good spinners and weavers, taking pride in themselves. They were all Vaishnavas by religion, but even here some Burmese customs had crept in and as I was told their marriage could be dissolved.

In the hills between the two valleys there lies the state of Manipur, which is the centre of these people, and from there this Bhanubil branch migrated some generations back. Where did the original stock come from Burma or elsewhere, I wondered. They were called backward, I suppose, and yet with education and opportunity what could not be done with this attractive and intelligent-looking people?

I have done a fair amount of flying in India, both in the north and in the south. But this was my first experience of flying during the monsoon, and I saw a new and pleasing sight. Ordinarily the country-side looks dry and parched, and eyes get tired by the monotony of the landscape. Not so during the monsoon. We all know how the monsoon brings welcome rain to the parched earth, and the greenery that blossoms at the magic touch. But to see this from on high brought home this change more vividly. Everything was green, though there were many shades to that greenery, and abundant water often flooded the fields. The trees stood out, cool, and clean-looking and even the little villages that dotted the landscape lost some of their drab appearance. The eye rested, and lingered over this sight, and did not get tired. India seemed to be green and pleasant land, rich in beauty and wealth of its soil.

We flew low, usually about five or six hundred feet, and the land rushed past us. Above us were the clouds, and we had to keep under them in order to avoid blind flying. And because we flew low, we saw the landscape in some detail and observed men and women working in the fields and cattle staying lazily on the pasture grounds. We could take in that picture from that height and while seeing a wide expanse of earth, yet be near enough to be of it. Sometimes a hill would approach us, and we would just go over it, and leave it far behind. Sometimes rains poured down on us and battered on the glass screen. We did not worry much about it. Nor did we really mind air pockets, which made us jump. But when the clouds and mists began to envelop us flying low as we were, then my pilot was little worried. When we reached Bamrauli, it was raining hard and a mist covered the aerodrome, so that it was difficult to distinguish it.

I had wanted to start early in the morning from Jamshedpur and reach Lucknow in the forenoon at the latest. But reports of thunderstorms and high winds were not encouraging and my pilot, an expert in his job, was in no mood to take risks. We postponed our departure till better report came, and eventually

took off a little before noon. We flew fast with a following wind pushing us on. Towns and villages passed us and the river Sone and the Ganga with Benares in the distance. It had been good flying so far, with only occasional bumps. As we approached Allahabad, black and threatening clouds came nearer and nearer, and it was obvious that we were going into a big thunderstorm. Out of these clouds suddenly appeared an Imperial Airways flying boat, a little to our right, and sailed majestically by. It was big enough to go through that storm, but our small plane was beginning to be buffered.

Our pilot decided in favour of discretion and turned back to Benares. We landed there on the military aerodrome. After some waiting, which we utilized in filling up with petrol, we decided to venture up again. But the ground did not have much of a way, and our plane felt heavy. So I dropped my luggage in Benares......Thus lightened we flew easily enough and headed for Allahabad. As we approached the city, the low flying clouds enveloped us and rain lessened the visibility still further. **We crossed the Ganga and my eye spotted Anand Bhawan and Swaraj Bhawan and many other familiar landmarks. Even the Alfred Park looked singularly attractive from above, perhaps, because of the monsoon. We flew right over the High Court and I could see large number of men of law crowning in the verandahs to see this impertinent little plane rush by.**

And so to Bamrauli in just half an hour from Benares. There was little chance of our going further by air that day, and I bade good-bye to our pilot, and the gallant little plane that had brought us, and decided regretfully to continue my journey to Lucknow by the slow-moving railway train. The big air liners usually fly high. The K. L. M. has taken me 18,000 feet above sea level, and flown over snow-covered Alps. We flew so high even over the Dead Sea in Palestine that frost covered our window panes. Once I had a curious experience in an Imperial Airways liner flying over the deserts of Sind. That was my first experience of long distance flying. It was early morning and the dawn was stealing over the earth. I saw stretched out far below me a magnificent snow-field. There it was, stretching as far as I could see on every side of us, a glistening uniform mass of snow. I rubbed my eyes in amazement and looked again. There could be no mistaking it. But it was absurd to have snow in Sind. Was it cotton, wool, then, masses of it, strewn on the ground? That was an equally fantastic notion. We were flying high, and the sky above us was clear and blue. Below us also for some thousands of feet there was no cloud, and then there was this white shining mass apparently covering the ground. The msytery was solved soon enough when we came down five thousand feet and lost ourselves in the clouds. We emerged out of them, and under them, and found we were still flying nearly ten thousand feet above the ground. Flying high one loses touch with the earth. It seems distant, and very few

details are visible. A big river may be a silver streak, but even a mountain, unless it is very high, is hardly distinguishable from the low-lying land. There is little sense of speed as one gets in a car or a railway train with objects rushing past us. But if a plane flies really low, under a hundred feet, then the earth simply rushes up and away.

II

SOUTH ASIA FEDERATION

Srinagar.

"The Congress is strongly of the opinion that India should not be divided into units. The need of the hour, both for economic and defensive reasons, was that India should remain a united country. Small States in the world of to-morrow have no future in store and they are sure to be reduced to the static stellite States, like Iraq and Iran. **The tendency of Big Powers is to form federation or confederation. India will be finished if it is divided. I stand for a South Asia Federation of India, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Burma.**" These observations were made by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in response to a suggestion contained in an address which Sheikh Abdullah, the Kashmir Leader presented to Pt. Nehru on the occasion of a public reception held in Pt. Nehru's honour at Hazuri Bagh. —*August 2, 1945.*

SEPARATE ELECTORATES MUST GO

Lahore.

" Separate electorates must go. All the present communal troubles in India are due to separate electorates," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a press conference.

FEUDALIST STRUCTURE

Bahraich.

It is a shame to see degradation, misery and poverty of the people. These things will not be allowed to continue now. Congress is determined to put an end to exploitation of Kisans by feudal landlords.

Feudalist structure in the country is bound to crumble with the rising tide of democracy and political consciousness amongst the people. —*February 11, 1946.*

SIR J. P. SRIVASTAVA

Benares.

How can the Congress agree to join the delegation which will be headed by utterly incapable persons like Sir J. P. Srivastava, who, with his actions, has dishonoured the country. The Congress can never join such a delegation, but every Indian, by frugal

consumption should see how best he can save the food for the country.

CONGRESS MINISTRIES

If Congress Ministries are formed in the provinces, then with the full co-operation of the people, some of our presentday problems may be solved, but none can forget that formation of ministries is not our only aim. We have to see that our progress towards the demand of Quit India and independence of the country is steadily maintained. We can co-operate with the Government in formation of a constituent assembly, provided the assembly has sufficient power to enforce its findings.

HUNGER AND NAKEDNESS

My heart breaks when I remember lean and thin, starving ill-clothed villagers. **In Bengal, while roads were full of dead bodies of persons who died of starvation, the British people and some Indians were enjoying dances and feasts. There were no wagons for grains, but at the same time race horses were taken to Calcutta and other places in wagons.** Imagine how thirty-five lakhs of our countrymen died of hunger within so short a time. The famine danger is facing the whole country to-day, but this time we will not tolerate feasts and dances while millions of hungry people die in the country. If people die of hunger, their deaths will be avenged.

—*February 14, 1946.*

LET US DIE LIKE MEN

Lucknow.

I have seen extreme poverty of the peasantry. They live on the verge of life with death ever hovering over them. If any mishap occurs, they have no power of resistance and will die in large numbers. During a few months three and a half million died by starvation in Bengal famine. If starvation stares them again in the face, I invite the peasants to rebel against political and social conditions which brought it about.

If we have to die, let us die like men and not like rats in holes. On no account are we going to submit to large masses starving and dying while a few prosper by their misfortune as in Bengal. We would not submit to some people feasting and racing and flaunting their luxury, while the masses of people suffer and die of agony. We will not submit to the incompetence and corruption of highly placed officers and selfishness of profiteers and blackmarketeers.

If the heavy burden has to be borne owing to circumstances beyond our control, it will have to be shared equally by all, and the Government responsible for mismanagement or worse will have to go.

—*February, 14, 1946.*

RAIN BRINGER NEHRU

I am also supposed to be a rain-bringer. There was good downpour during my visit to Garhwàl this week and folks began to say I had brought it with me.

Lucknow

"DELHI CHALO"

The slogans of the Indian National Army, "Bharat Chhoro," "Delhi Chalo" and "Azad Hind" which were raised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a meeting at Lucknow have become very popular. These slogans have reached even the innermost villages of the provinces.

Pandit Nehru as he travelled from Saidabad to Ballia was cheered almost at every wayside station with the above slogans.

RELIGION AND POLITICS.

Srinagar.

"I consider it dangerous for religious organisations to dabble in politics," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, replying to an address of welcome presented to him by the Yuvak Sabha on behalf of the Kashmiri Pandits.

Pandit Nehru said : "**India has been harmed by communal organisations. If you also run in communal channels, you are degraded.**"

He added : "In Kashmir the Muslims are 95 per cent. of the population. If you Kashmiri Pandits remain on inimical terms with the Muslims, it is not in your interest. There is a mass movement already in the State. The Maharaja or the British Government will not always protect you. It behoves you to live in peace with your Muslim neighbours. The National Conference has started a national movement in the State. Every Kashmiri should help it. Unemployment cannot be solved by a small number of Government servants. It can only be solved by setting the basic things right. Revolutionary changes are fast approaching the world."

It was high time, said Pandit Nehru, that they should concentrate all their efforts in finding out a solution of the future problems that were facing India and the world. Such revolutions as were taking place at present had never before taken place in the history of the world. The Atomic bomb which had now been invented, had created new problems for humanity. Indians were still engrossed with the old worn-out problems and had been least affected by the world factors. —*August 7, 1945.*

PEOPLE'S RAJ

Baria

"**I have not come here to lament on what happened to you in 1924. India can never forget the brave people of Ballia—her kisans and youths,**" observed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing

a public meeting at Baria, 20 miles from Ballia. Out of 46 persons killed by police and military firing, 21 came from this village.

Pandit Nehrn congratulated the people of Ballia for the part played by them during the August movement of 1942. Referring to the Government measures to crush the movement, he said that all inhuman repressive measures to crush the people were ineffective. But, nevertheless, those responsible for these repressive measures, be they British or Indian, would be punished, he added.

He said that what happened in Ballia in August 1942, when the people's raj was established for about a week in the district, was the forerunner of what was going to happen in the country very soon. Terrible public repression for the last three years had no effect on the people of this country, who were determined to win Swaraj.

It may be noted that Baria is a place where on August 18, 1942 a pitched battle raged between police and a mob when the former in course of firing killed more than 20 and injured 41 persons.

Here when the station was captured by the mob, Pandi Nehru revealed, in the course of his speech at Baria, a boy gav his life to keep the honour of the national flag. Pandit Nehru said during the August disturbances the boy went to the Baria Police Station to hoist the National Flag on a building. The Police threats that any attempt at hoisting national flag would meet with grave consequences was of no avail to the boy. He went straight with the flag and a faced the Police who shot him dead.

NO PETTY POLITICS

Calcutta

"Obviously the only organisation in India that can meet the challenge of the time is the Congress," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a press statement on his arrival here to-day, conveying the message of the Congress, namely the message or freedom to the people of the country.

He adds : Others may help a little or hinder a little, but they cannot solve any problem or bear any big responsibility. It is in this context and the still larger context of the world to-day that we have to view our problems. We must not get lost into petty squabbles or arguments, It is extraordinary how marked the contrast is to-day between public feeling on the one hand and petty issues which worry politicians as a rule. We see all over India an astonishing degree of enthusiasm for India's freedom and independence. On the other hand we see even in election arguments aboutissues which do not rise at all."

March 8, 1946.

MEDICAL MISSION FOR MALAYA

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited the office of the Congress Medical Mission in the evening. The Mission which was ready to

start for Malaya under the leadership of Dr. Cholkar of the Central Provinces as soon as the necessary permit is granted by the Government of India, had completed all arrangements.

After a survey of the arrangements, Pandit Nehru issued an appeal for funds to the country.

In course of the appeal he says : "I am sorry there has been delay in despatch of this Mission to Malaya. Everything is ready now at this end and only necessary permits from the Government and transport facilities are being awaited. I hope this will be forthcoming very soon because the need in Malaya is urgent.

"Such a Mission inevitably costs a lot of money. It is right the Mission should be amply provided with everything necessary for medical relief. I hope the public will subscribe to the funds for the Mission so that our relief work in Malaya might expand."

Pandit Nehru added the demands of our own people in India with regard to both food and medical relief are urgent. Nevertheless the demands of our countrymen abroad could not be ignored. "Help should be given to them generously and prove to them that India does not and cannot forget her children wherever they might be."

UDAIPUR

— *March 9, 1946.*

APPROACH TO INDIAN PRINCES

" Our approach to the Princes of Indian States must be a friendly one—an invitation to them to join hands in the great tasks ahead. They must realise that these tasks have to be undertaken, that great changes must come, that they cannot rely for long on the protection of an alien power ", said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. presiding over the 8th session of the All-India States Peoples' Conference at Udaipur to-day. —*December 31, 1945*

BOMBAY

DISTURBANCES

" During the last four days ", said Pandit Nehru, " many things have happened in this city which are bad. Many other things have also happened which are good. What has happened in Bombay clearly demonstrated how anti-social elements in a vast city like Bombay exploit the situation. In every free country there is this problem, but in our country this is complicated by our fight for independence. The time has come when we should direct our energies along the channel of constructive work What happened in Bombay shows that constructive tendency is lacking."

Pandit Nehru said for the last 25 years the people of India had made tremendous sacrifices in the cause of winning independence.

" Our freedom is near at hand to-day. We have all the virtue for winning our freedom, but I must confess that we lack discipline which is essential for a free country", said Pandit Nehru.

—February 26, 1946.

DACCA

1946.

The year 1946 will be a year of great decision for India. Disciplined and united, let us prepare for that," declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while addressing a mammoth gathering.

On his way to the meeting at Thewari Club ground, Pandit Nehru was held up by a large number of young men, who greeted him with shouts of " Jai Hind. " Panditji got down from the car, administered a stern rebuke and then went back to his car.

Panditji was presented with an address of welcome by the Dacca Municipality. The address was read by the chairman, Mr. Bimlananda Das Gupta. Mr. Srish Chandra Chatterjee, President of the Dacca District Congress Committee, presided over the meeting.

At Patenge aerodroma, eight miles from Chitagong, Pt Nehru was presented with a purse by " a group of Indian army personnel." The donation was meant for the I. N. A. Fund.

Addressing them Panditji said that they should realise that the old order was changing, yielding place to a new one. He advised them to prepare for that.

—March 11, 1946

BENARES

NO SECRECY

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing the Student Congress workers this morning, observed : "The days of conspiratorial work and secret preparations are over. Now we have to prepare the masses as well for this purpose and whatever preparations we make, should be open. To win the struggle based on pure strength, we have to win the hearts of our countrymen who are in the army. For them ours will be open appeals and we will establish open contacts. Now our preparations will be of a psychological nature.

Asked to point out the defects of the students movement in India Pandit Nehru said, "to offer political leadership to the country" is not the function of the students movements in India and they cannot recommend any "action to the country."

Of course this does not apply to conditions that are created at a time of crisis. Students instead of taking an active part in politics should go to the villages when they find time and there they should try to improve the conditions of our poor countrymen.

The students movements all over the world are of a non-political nature, whereas in India they are linked with politics. This is the main defect of the students movements in India.

Concluding Pandit Nehru referred to the 1942 movement and said : "We were bound to fail in this movement as the country was never prepared to face and struggle with military power. —*February 14, 1946.*

PAKISTAN AFTER FREEDOM

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told a mass meeting of the nationalist Muslims that "I am prepared to view with respect of the demand for Pakistan—if it is met after the freedom of the country has been achieved."

Pandit added : But in the present circumstances it has become an excuse for the continuation of foreign rule."

Pandit Nehru spoke from the same platform in Urdu Park with Maulana Habib-ur-Rehman, Maulana Ata Ullah Shah Bokhari, Maulana Hafiz-ur-Rehman and Sheikh Hussaim-ud-Din, on the topic "free and undivided India."

"To-day is the 27th anniversary of the Amritsar massacre," said Nehru. "And they have been a very peculiar 27 years in which the history of the country has been completely changed. To-day it is possible that the curtain of darkness is being lifted and a bright future awaits us."

"One thing is certain that the past 150 years of British rule must go."

The Amritsar massacre occurred in 1919 in the Punjab where, during the political difficulties, British troops turned machine-guns into a mixed crowd, killing several hundred.

Asserting his willingness to "view with respect" a Muslim League demand for Pakistan "after freedom of the country is achieved," Panditji declared that "if Pakistan comes into existence, a very large number of Hindus and Muslims have to live together. If they can live cordially then, they can also live cordially in a united India, because it will never be possible to transfer so large a population from one area to another." —*April 14, 1946.*

SINGAPORE

AWAKENING OF ASIA

Addressing crowds of the town's esplanade, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared : "The age of imperialism and colonialism is dead but in the inevitable awakening of Asiatics and changeover that must come after 200 to 300 years of European domination over Asia, we are not thinking in terms of a conflict between nations."

He recalled that when he last visited the town, nine years ago, he found "a complacent Indian population not over-desirous

of working too hard" but he now found a totally different spirit, a spirit also manifest in other Asiatic races.

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a mass rally at Penang on Sunday night said: I want India to be a powerful and prosperous country, but not at the expense of others.

Stating that "we are no longer going to tolerate domination over us." Pt. Nehru asserted: "I am convinced that if colonialism and imperialism continue, there is bound to be world war."

Pandit Nehru said that he found Indians in Malaya in good spirits and with the feeling that their motherland was going to be free. "They have a good heart and this is the message I am going to send to India." —*March 25, 1946.*

ALLAHABAD

HONOUR THE DEAD.

"I honour the dead of 1924, I am proud of them. I am not at all sorry, as some incline to be, on their death What is there if 25 people died in Allahabad? Even if 2,000 had died and died with honour I would not have been sorry" declared Pandit Nehru on the occasion of the presentation cermony of martyrs' plates at a public meeting held this evening under the auspices of the City Congress Committee. Mr. P.D. Tandon presided.

The 1942 movement was a period of crisis. The British imperialism after clapping the leaders of the people inside jails wanted to end once for all the movement of freedom's fight. Alas, they were not aware of the pulse of the country. Men, women and children all rose in one to resist this attempt at ending the freedom's fight for ever. "Let the world know that if any attempt is made by British imperialism to crush the fight of the people for independence, the whole nation will rise to challenge this attempt as 1942 has shown," added Pandit Nehru.

—*February 3, 1946.*

JHANSI

BRITISH CABINET

"If the British Cabinet Mission fails to solve the pressing and urgent problems which are clamouring for a solution a political earthquake of devastating intensity would sweep the entire country," declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a large gathering here on his way to Allahabad.

Pandit Nehru said: "We put severe restraint on ourselves of long but now none can say how long this self-imposed restraint would continue or continue at all. The whole country is under throes of serious disappointments and is in a revolting mood. We are sitting on the edge of a volcano which may burst at any moment. A spark set ablaze Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi; these pre-storm conditions are not limited to big cities only but they are found even in the remotest villages of the country. The truth is that people are tired and fed up with foreign domination and want to end it immediately."

"We would talk to the Cabinet Mission as free people of one country talk to people of another free country. Congress will try to settle urgent pressing and fundamental issues by negotiations and compromises, because we do not want the country to pass through fiery ordeals every now and then if it can be avoided. But one thing I wish to make abundantly clear is that Congress is not prepared to withdraw even an inch from its stand and its demand for complete independence would hold field at all cost."

—March 2, 1946.

KUALA LUMPUR

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a welcoming crowd of 20,000 here declared that the kind of nationalism Indians believe in "is of an enlightened type which will not lead to aggression."

"If we believe in independence for India, we also believe in independence for other countries," Pandit Nehru said.

In future Pandit Nehru said : " strong ties of friendship would bring India closer to the other countries in East Asia."

"Apart from sensational and historical reasons, there is the compulsion of geography," he observed. "Whatever scheme of defence or strategy you may form, India is the pivot on the Indian Ocean area, just as India was the pivot of the British Empire," he added.

"India is going to be the pivot of the freedom struggle of Asia," he concluded.

In the crowd were 200 former Members of the Indian National Army, wearing uniforms and singing national songs.

About 300 rickshaw men pedalled in a procession bearing placards reading "For World Democracy."

Bringing greetings from India for the Chinese, Malayans and Indonesians, Pandit Nehru declared : "The spirit that has arisen in India will not be cowed down by any material sufferings.

"We have not only certainty of the future, not only confidence of the coming independence but also confidence in our ability to raise 400,000,000 of our people from poverty.

"We have to raise such a stage in India, where unless we can solve our problems rapidly, we might as well be overwhelmed."

—March 21, 1946.

SIMLA

SHAMEFUL BARBARITIES

"We cannot remain silent or distant when our people are treated in this way," says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a statement to the press on the recent events in Faridkot State.

"I have already issued public statements about recent events in Faridkot State. Further reports disclose shameful barbarities perpetrated by the State authorities. Dwarkanath Kachru, who was deputed by me for inquiry, was refused entry by the State authorities. This state of affairs is intolerable and the All-India States' Peoples' Conference will take up this matter and pursue it to its logical end. We cannot remain silent or distant when our people are treated in this way. "I have sent the following telegram to the Chief Secretary of Faridkot State :—Have received reports of scandalous and barbarous behaviour of authorities of Faridkot State. Your preventing Kachru's entry for inquiry into these circumstances cannot be tolerated. Full impartial inquiry into recent events and excesses must be held and those responsible for excesses must be finished. Unless orders restricting entry and civil liberties are withdrawn we shall have to defend them. If necessary, I shall personally visit Faridkot. Please send reply immediately."

Pandit Jawaharlal says : " Every person in the State however highly placed he may be, must be brought to account and punished, if he is found guilty. Faridkot State has become a symbol of the degradation of some of the Indian States and their administration. They will have to be purged completely or wiped off, if they cannot behave better. **We are living in an India on the verge of Independence with a mighty people's movement everywhere, including the States, which will tolerate no oppression or insult to human rights. The medieval ages are past and those who still think that they continue will have to be swept away.**

—*May 10, 1946.*

SECTION XXVII

The Signposts of Destiny

In this section have been included very recent statements and extracts from addresses which have a great bearing on the immediate future of India and the world The most important piece in this collection is Jawaharlal's advice to Japan showing her the way to self-respect. Equally significant is his address to the State's Peoples' Conference at Udaipur. Other material in this section will also be found very interesting and instructive.

I

NEHRU'S ADVICE TO JAPAN.

"I am asked by the Japanese newspapers to give a plain advice to Japan, especially as to what I think Japan should do to gain respect and confidence of the nations. That is not easy for me, for it is always difficult and often presumptuous to advise other nations and peoples, and becomes still more difficult to advise those people who are stricken down by defeat and misfortune. Alas! I cannot speak for the United Nations as a whole or for the Four Big Powers who dominate the counsels of these nations. Perhaps, I can have some insight into the mind of India and to a lesser extent into the mind of Asia and so I shall say a few words as an Indian.

There was a time when Indians looked up to the Japanese and admired their great achievements. Then there came a time when the Japanese began to resemble too closely to the aggressive imperialist powers of the West and instead of being the champions of Asiatic freedom, their lust for dominion and imperialist expansion led them to the conquest of Asiatic countries. Korea was deprived of her freedom and China in the birth pangs of new freedom was continually harassed and threatened and later attacked. All this changed India's attitude to Japan and the old admiration gave place to resentment. Our sympathies flowed to China and other countries attacked by Japan.

Now Japan has met with disaster in her imperialist adventures—fate which will befall every nation to-day which aims at world domination. Both world considerations and narrow national interests must induce Japan to give up her old dreams of conquest and expansion. Nor should she think in terms of

revenge, for there is no end to the cycle of hatred and revenge The Japanese have shown extraordinary qualities which were turned in a wrong direction. They must now use them to build anew on sounder foundation ; they must reject militarism and imperialism and make of Japan a country of free democratic institutions which threatens none and is feared by none. They must build their economic order on the basis of equality and equal opportunities for all their people and not aim at economic domination of any other country. Thus they will create afresh prosperous and progressive Japan on friendly terms with her neighbour members of the Asiatic family as well as the world brotherhood of nations. Japan has caused deep injury to China both materially and spiritually and, therefore, Japan's special task might be to gain goodwill of the Chinese people. **Ultimately the peace of the Far East depends on co-operation of the Chinese and the Japanese and such co-operation can only be based on freedom.** If this policy is followed by Japan, she will not only gradually heal the deep scars of war but will also cure deeper spiritual injuries caused to herself and to others and bridge the gulf which now separates her from other nations. India and other countries of Asia will outlive yesterday's anger and resentment and join hands with Japan in the furtherance of Asiatic freedom and co-operation within the larger framework of world peace."

—*October 11, 1945.*

II

ADDRESS TO THE STATES' PEOPLE

The following is the full text of a rendering in English of the presidential address of Pandit Nehru in Hindustani delivered by him as President of the 8th session of the All-India State's People's Conference at Udaipur on December 31, 1946.

We meet at this conference after nearly seven years, a long period, made longer by the tremendous events of these years, and the experiences we have gone through those years have taught us many lessons, but though we may be wiser, that wisdom has not brought us comfort or an assurance of that new world order of peace and freedom, for which we and hundreds of millions all over the world craved

The tragedy of the Great War is over but the tragedy of the seeming peace pursues us and darkens the horizon : Lives were squandered by the million in the name of Democracy and peace and freedom, yet those who held the reins of power thought of retaining what they had, of preserving the old order, and of denying what they themselves proclaimed so loudly. And because they saw no new world order, they now prepare for a new war. Again, as of old, the people were betrayed and the real fight for freedom has yet to take place.

We in this conference are especially concerned with the ninety million people of the Indian States. But their fate is

linked up with the fate of the three hundred millions of the rest of India and with the vaster numbers of the world as a whole. And so, even to understand the problems of the States, we must understand the problems of India and see it in the wider context of the world situation.

NEW FORCES LET LOOSE.

The war has shaken up Asia and Europe, broken down old frontiers, upset in many ways the old economic foundations, let loose new forces, and out of this turmoil new patterns are arising. The resistance movements, to which the war gave birth find it difficult to fit into the existing framework. Three dominant Powers seem to control the destinies of the world but of these three Great Britain already occupies a secondary position and is destined to play a subsidiary role.

BOTH POWERFULLY EXPANSIONISTS

Two remain—the United States of America and the Soviet Union—and both are powerfully expansionist in their different ways. Their ideals differ, their economies are entirely opposed to each other; and each is trying to consolidate its position and extend its influence.

The Soviet Union has built up a number of client states and in this process has put an end to many relics of feudalism in Western Europe. That process has now been directed to the Middle East and Iran is at present experiencing both internal conflict and external pressure.

FORCES BEHIND THE SCENES

In the Far East the great country of China has recently had the misfortune to revert to civil conflict, and behind the scenes other forces are playing. It would appear that the only satisfactory solution is for a united China to be built up on a fully democratic basis.

PERILOUS SEMBLANCE

In South-East Asia, Indonesia and Indo-China are carrying on heroic struggle against their respective imperialisms, and in both, Britain has stepped in to help in crushing the people. There is a perilous semblance between these ways of intervention carried on by Britain and the war of intervention which Fascist Italy and Germany waged in Spain, and which was the prelude to World War II.

For us in India the struggles in Indonesia and Indo-China are of peculiar interest and importance and affect us intimately. We have watched British intervention there with growing anger and shame and helplessness that Indian troops should thus be used for doing Britain's dirty work against our friends who are fighting the same fight as we are.

REVEALING GLIMPSES.

Recently we have had revealing glimpses, through the thick veil of the censorship, of the way British, French and Dutch imperialisms have been functioning in South-East Asia. Those glimpses have made us sick with horror and disgust, for they have equalled the atrocity stories from Germany.

This is the way imperialism still functions in Asia. It is the way of revolting cruelty and brutality and frightfulness and a complete denial of the right to freedom.

In Siam, Britain wants to extend her imperial influence. In Malaya she is consolidating her economic hold and extending it. In Burma and Ceylon she intends to hold on as long as she can. In India we know fr m recent experience how she is trying to delay and obstruct any real change.

BRITAIN FIGHTING A LOSING BATTLE

These are not the obvious signs of a decaying imperialism and yet it becomes increasingly clear that Britain is fighting a losing battle and the sources of her old imperial strength are drying up. Though her interests conflict in many ways with those of America, still circumstances are compelling her to seek American aid and to play a secondary role to America in the major struggle for a dominant position in the world.

III

CONVOCATION ADDRESS

One of the largest gatherings in the history of the Convocation of the Calcutta University was present, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the annual convocation of the University in the Science College premises on Upper Circular Road, on March 9, 1946.

The pandal erected for the occasion in the Science College compound was full with men and women graduates, Fellows of the University and distinguished visitors. The Chancellor, His Excellency Sir Frederick Burrows, the new Governor of Bengal presided.

When the Chancellor's procession with Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, wearing an academic costume entered the pandal, shouts of "Jai Hind" "Vandemataram" and "Inqilab Zindabad" were raised. Shouts of "Jai Hind" were again raised when Pandit Nehru rose to address the convocation. He spoke for nearly forty minutes.

When the Governor declared the convocation closed, shouts of "Jai Hind" were raised by the assembled graduates.

A number of Muslim students' organisations had called upon Muslim graduates to boycott the convocation in view of the fact that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had been invited to deliver the address. However, according to Mr. S. K. Dutt, Assistant Registrar of the University, many Muslim graduates of the Islamia, Presidency and other colleges attended the function and received their degrees.

In his convocation address, Pandit Nehru said : "It seems to me that there had hardly been any time in recorded history that humanity had faced such enormous possibilities of change and transformation as it faces to-day.

"It is obvious that the period of history that we have passed through all these 150 years of British rule in the country is coming to an end. It is obvious that British imperialism in India is a faded affair or more or less a fading affair and that India has to function according to her own policy.

"Have a vision of a new India and Asia and new world before you. I do not know how many of you will see the full realisation of that mission. It is not that I am talking of new India in terms of political independence, for that I take for granted. The immediate problem before India is feeding, housing and clothing 400 million people."

"The housing, feeding and clothing of 400 million people," Pandit Nehru continued, "must come through the approach of Science, which was called the god-mother of the modern world."

Free India wanted contact with other countries of the world, said Pandit Nehru In terms of nascent Asia, India would inevitably play, situated as she was, an important role in Asia, the Far East, Central Asia, and South-East Asia.

Before the advent of the British rule in India all Asiatic nations had looked to this country for culture, commerce, and other ennobling influences But when the English came to India all means of communication went into their hands and India went down.

To-day, however, there was a further shifting. Asia was gradually coming back to her own after long foreign domination and in this new Asia, India would play a very important part.

IV

FLAME OF FREEDOM

"The Indian people to-day are proud and virile and determined to be free. That flame of freedom runs through us all, whether we are civilians or army men. It is in this context that every situation has to be judged," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the course of a statement issued to the press on the day of signal men and others, belonging to the Indian Army at Jubbulpore.

Pandit Nehru said, "Friends and colleagues of Jubbulpur have pressed me to visit the city in view of the situation that has arisen there owing to the strike of the signal men and others belonging to the Indian Army. Such facts as are known have been supplied to me. I gather that those on strike, have remained completely peaceful ; further that on February 28 a considerable number of them were injured, some seriously, by some kind of bayonet charge made upon

them, in their barracks. The strikers' demands were for better treatment between Indian and British soldiers. There were also some political demands.

"Such demands should not normally be made the basis of strike. They involve large issues and indeed in the last analysis the issue of India and it should be for the nation to decide through its leaders and representatives. It is undesirable for any group to face the issue.

In regard to the demands for better treatment and no differentiation every Indian must invariably sympathise with them. The soldiers in other armies have been through many years of gruelling war time experience. In all armies there is a feeling of weariness and a desire to go home. We have seen recently strikes in personnel of American and British armies.

DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT TO INDIA

"In armies there is ever-present feeling of resentment accorded to Indian officers and other ranks alike. What was meekly submitted previously, can no longer be borne, for the Indian people to-day are proud and virile and determined to be free. That flame of freedom runs through us all whether we are civilians or army men. It is in this context that every situation has to be judged. We all want discipline in the army. But discipline to-day must be considered in this new context, and not as a slave discipline of former times. The problem thus becomes one of India's freedom and re-fashioning of our civil and military structure, in the light of that freedom. Merely to suppress and punish in the old way is futile, for it makes the problem more acute.

"I trust that the military authorities in India will have this picture of India to-day in their minds and function accordingly. To Indian soldiers I would say, that their cause is ours. It is the nation's. Our ultimate object is the freedom and independence of India. We are happy that the old barriers between army men and civilians in India, are breaking down

NEW SITUATION

"This new situation brings new responsibilities on all of us, and we must not function light-heartedly, or else we waste the opportunity that awaits us."

Soldiers and civilians alike should indulge in non-violence, for the obvious reason, apart from other reasons, that violence will benefit our opponents, who have superior violence on their side.

VIOLENCE IS OF NO HELP

"So whatever our struggle might be, it should be conducted peacefully, and in a disciplined manner. It is right that civilians should express their sympathy for legitimate demands, but they must realise that violence is of no help.

"We want no victimisation of our men, in the navy, the army or the air force. They are brave young men, and even if at

few go astray in a moment of excitement, a wise policy is to deal with them leniently, and in a friendly manner. In any event so far as we are concerned, we shall try our best to prevent victimisation, but it is obvious that we can make no promises, give no guarantee, for only a free India can do that. One promise we can, and will give, to struggle for India's freedom and independence till this is achieved. —*March 4, 1946*

DUTY OF THE PRESS

"The press in India should devote more time and space to village and rural life and conditions in the rural area. It should guard against big combines starting chains of papers and dictating policies detrimental to the interests of the country. It should do everything in its power to prevent distortion and total suppression of news and should have a foreign news service of its own, not, as a competitive service but as a supplementry one purveying news from different countries and cities such as Washington, London, Paris, and Moscow, the Middle East and the East Asia. These were the highlights of an interesting address delivered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, inaugurating the fifth session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference at the Vizianagaram Hall.

Pandit Nehru warned the press in India to guard against big combines starting chain of papers and dictating policies detrimental to the interests of the country. He said under these big combines a newspaper lost its individuality and the sanctity which every paper so zealously guarded.

He also warned the editors to avoid extortion and suppression of news. He said that every news which had a news value irrespective of politics or party should be given in a truthful manner. He deprecated the idea of a sense of fear prevailing in any newspaper office to tell the truth.

Pandit Nehru recalled in this connection the suppression of news of Nazi Party in the German press and the Bengal famine in the Indian press. He said, the result of the suppression of news was that whenever it came out after the suppression, it did not give the truth or if it give the truth it was bound to be, either exaggerated or minimised or even not to be believed by the public. A paper suppressing the news or distorting the news also fell in the estimation and value of the public, added Pandit Nehru. He exhotted the editors not to be carried away in giving "true and nothing but true news" by outside influence or the governmental authority.

He also asked the Government in this connection to give complete freedom as regards news to the press in India so that they may be able to maintain a high standard of integrity.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru felt that the future of Indian journalism lay with the Indian languages newspapers. He advised in this connection that transmission of news should also take place in Hindustani.

He ridiculed the practice as was prevalent these days in many Indian languages papers when a speech delivered in Hindustani was translated in English and from this English translation it was again translated in Hindustani to be incorporated in Indian languages newspapers. This, he said, marred the efficiency of Indian languages papers and held them back from giving a true report.

Pandit Nehru also felt that the present news service in India was not admirably organised.

He advised the press in India to start a foreign news service which should not become a competitive service to any existing foreign news service but a supplementary one purveying news from all over the world, especially the Middle East, Asia, China and the South-East Asia countries. He also felt that if there was not enough capital available this foreign news service could be started in a few selected places in Asia, Middle East or South-East Asia countries and then, later, developed as finances helped such a venture.

—February 16, 1946

IV

THE EDGE OP VOLCANO.

"If the British Cabinet Mission fails to solve the pressing and urgent problem which are clamouring for a solution a political earthquake of devastating intensity would sweep the entire country," declard Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a large gathering at Jhansi on his way to Allahabad.

Pandit Nehru said, "we put severe restraint on ourselves of long but none can say how long this self-imposed restraint would continue or continue at all. The whole country is under throes of serious disappointment and is in a revolting mood. We are sitting on the edge of a volcano which may burst at any moment. A spark may burst ablaze at Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi ; these pre-storm conditions are not limited to big cities only but they are found even in the remotest villages of the country. The truth is that people are tired and want to end fed up with foreign domination and want to end it immediately.

"We would talk to the Cabinet Mission as free people of one country talk to people of another free country. Congress will try to settle urgent pressing and fundamental issues by negotiations and compromises, because we do not want the country to pass through fiery ordeals every now and then if they can be avoided. But one thing I wish to make abundantly clear is that Congress is not prepared to withdraw even an inch from its stand and its demand for complete independence would hold field at all cost."

Referring to the naval strike in Bombay Pandit Nehru said : "This strike has a great political importance. Our boys in their zeal might have done a few things with which we may disagree but that cannot minimise its importance or wash away powerful reactions which this even created to the country. This event demon-

strated which direction the mind of the Indian army is working. It has also shown that the iron wall which the Britishers created between the Indian army and the Indian people has collapsed and broken to pieces and the Indian army men who mostly hail from the peaasnt class are as keen to the political and economic exploitation as their brothers in fields and factories.

Continuing Pandit Nehru revealed that the three Indian officers Messrs, Shah Nawaz, Sehgal and Dhillon were not released due to Indian demonstration as is generally believed but they were released due because Indian army had demanded their release and expressed sympathy in unmistakable terms with them.

Pandit Nehru said that 1946 would be most eventful and decisive year for India. "He said the 150 year old British rule in India has almost come to an end."

"One thing is important from the historical point of view. The British also realised it and therefore they no longer talk in terms of political reservation to themselves. They want to know from us if we would give trade facilities in a free India. Well, let us tell them frankly it all depends on how you quit this country. If you leave a trail of bitterness behind, we cannot have truck with you."

Pandit Nehru characterised Muslim League as an "organisation of Nawabs and Taluqdars" and said that they raised the Pakistan solgan only to sidetrack the country's main problem of poverty and starvation on the one hand, feudalism and capitalism represented by a handful of persons on the other. Pandit Nehru added that the League, Akali, Unionist, Hindu Sabha, and Communist parties were all alies of British in the present Indian situation.

—*Mareh 2, 1946.*

VII

CIVIL LIBERTIES.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference issued the following statement to the press March 5, 1946 :—

"In January last the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes made a declaration in the Chamber on behalf of himself and his brother Princes guaranteeing civil liberites and recognising the immediate need for representative institutions and efficient administration and judiciary, I welcomed this, though I pointed out at the time that the proposals for constitutional changes do not go far enough and should be based on recognition of responsible Government. I welcomed it chiefly because it represented a new approach and because of the assurance in regard to civil liberties which had been wholly or largely absent in most of the States. I believe some slight improvement did take place in regard to civil liberties in a few States but on the whole there has been no considerable change and I am constantly receiving reports of how civil liberties are being suppressed in many ways. This means that many of the princes

are not keeping to their pledged word. All faith in what they say will vanish if action is at variance with assurance. This is a bad beginning for the big change that will inevitably come in the near future. I trust that all rulers of States will appreciate this and demonstrate to their people and to India that they mean what they say and are acting up to it.

Civil liberties are important and are an essential pre-requisite for any form of democratic Government. But they do not take the place of representative and responsible government. Therefore, it must be remembered that the objective of the States' people is and must remain full responsible government. The same measure of democratic freedom must prevail in the States as in the rest of India. You cannot yoke together bullock with a swift horse. There is no difference between people of the States and the people of the provinces. Their future is one.

Hyderabad State was not affected by the Chancellor's declaration and continues in most ways its medieval existence. The State Congress is still banned and generally speaking it is an astonishing example of the middle ages having strayed into the 20th century.

VIII

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIX

"The year 1946 is going to be a very important year in the history of India, when big problems will be finally solved and momentous decisions taken with the help of the irresistible might of the people. To achieve our object, we will have to stand up united, and in a well-disciplined manner, sinking all our petty differences for the sake of the greatest cause of the country," said Pandit Nehru addressing a gathering of over a lakh of people in Queens Park.

Purses amounting to about a lakh of rupees were presented to Pandit Nehru on the occasion of his visit to Cawnpore, on behalf of several organisations and individuals.

Pandit Nehru said that he had been touring all over India to gain firsthand knowledge of the conditions of the people in the country, as it was not possible for him to know all about the country from newspapers alone, sitting within the walls of the Ahmednagar Fort. He wanted to know the effect of the 1942 movement on the masses. Ho saw crores of people and found that India was changed. He found that the country was a gunpowder magazine which would burst into flames with the touch of a single spark. Never before in his public life of 30 years, had he witnessed such an enthusiasm among the people. But there was lack of discipline. His tour revealed this while on the one hand there was a surging tidal wave of freedom, on the other there was an urgent need of keeping within bounds. The unprecedented enthusiasm among the people made him happy while the lack of discipline among the people worried him.

Continuing Pandit Nehru criticised those who sent huge amounts of money and resorted to other corrupt practices, to secure a seat in the Assembly. He referred to the Congress election manifesto, and said that the Congress had fought the elections not to adorn the chairs, but to free India from foreign domination. The League and the Hindu Mahasabha had no definite programme for the country whatsoever. The Hindu Mahasabha, he said, was a lifeless body, and they need not bother about it. The Muslim League had raised the slogan of Islam in danger to side track the main issue.

"I can say with cofidence." emphasised Pandit Nehru, "that the kind of Pakistan Mr. Jinnah demands, can never be achieved by him even in 1,000 years."

He added that when asked by the foreign press correspondents, to define Pakistan and how it was to be defended, Mr. Jinnah was reported to have said that the British forces would have to remain here for a considerable length of time to defend Pakistan and Hindustan. "I fail to understand this," said Pandit Nehru. Pandit Nehru added that every individual and community should have full freedom in religious matters, and be given equal opportunities to make progress. The only question before the country should be how to achieve freedom of the country, and it was absurd to raise the communal question.

Pandit Nehru said that only big and powerful countries could exist in the world. The demand for Pakistan would weaken the country by disintegration and it would remain enslaved. The League leaders were begging for Pakistan at the door of the Britishers. The end of British rule was in sight. It would come soon whether they liked it or not. The British Government had lost all power to rule over India ; they could not manage the country. He referred to the Bengal famine and said that he shuddered to think that 35 lakhs of people could die, owing to the inefficiency of Government. How could a Government under which such a state of affairs existed, remain ? It was, therefore, essential that the reins of administration should be in the hands of the people, but this could be possible only when the people were united. Pandit Nehru referred to the trouble in Delhi on the occasion of victory celebrations, and criticised the action of the people in attempting to set fire to the Municipal office. He said they could have demonstrated their protest against the celebrations in a peaceful manner and should not have destroyed their own property. These factors weakened their struggle for independence.

"We are on the threshold of freedom, we have to prepare ourselves for it. We have to face big problems. There is no time to stop. Let us, therefore, strengthen the Congress and march onward unitedly like a disciplined army. The Congress is the only body which could fight for freedom, he concluded."

Earlier, Pandit Nehru addressed a meeting in Kamla Nehru Memorial Park.

Addressing the meeting, which was attended mostly by labourers, he said that freedom alone would not help them. They had to develope their industries in a manner that would make the masses prosperous, and uproot unemployment.

Communist-League Alliance

Criticising the Communist-League alliance Pandit Nehru said that the Communists had violated the principles of Communism, by advocating the division of the country into 15 or 16 parts and associating themselves with the League. What confidence the masses had in the Communists, had been amply demonstrated by elections, in which not a single Communist had been returned. "On the other hand," he said, "the League was sowing seeds of hatred. The League, with no political programme before it, found itself in a difficult situation. It was why they raised false issues."

—March 8, 1946.